

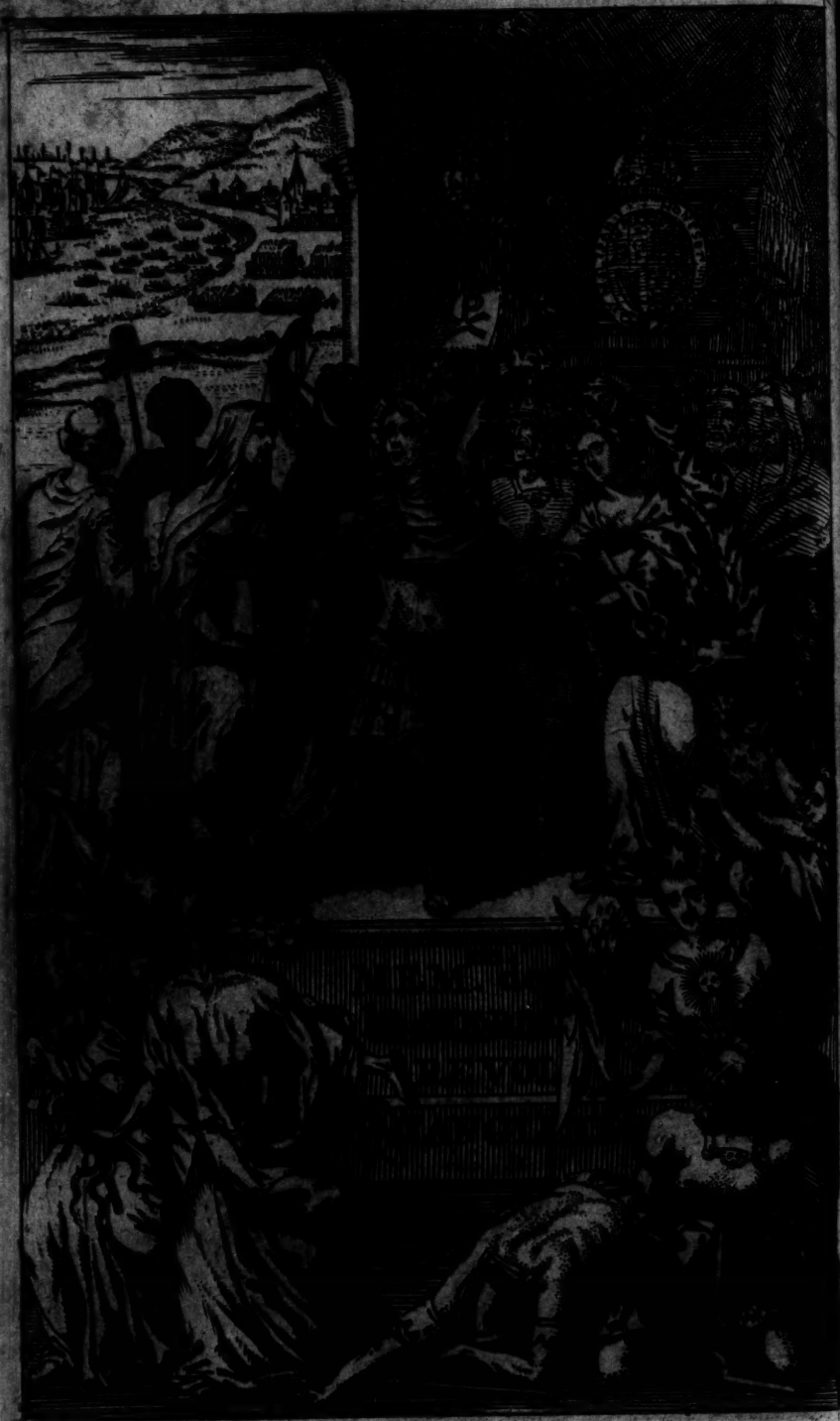
P

I.

II.

P





P

I.

II.

P

*(G.) Bishp. of Salisbury*  
Bishop BURNET'S<sup>K</sup>  
HISTORY

Of his own time.

V O L. I.

C O N T A I N I N G,

- I. A Summary Recapitulation of affairs in  
Church & State, from K. JAMES I. to  
the Restoration in 1660.  
II. The History of the Reign of K.  
CHARLES II. from 1666. to 1670.



L O N D O N,  
Printed for the Company of Booksellers:  
M. D C C. X X V.

# HISTORY

Bishop BURNET'S

Of his own time.

VOLUME I.

CONTAINING

I. A summary Recapitulation of affairs in  
Great Britain, from King James I. to  
the Revolution in 1688.  
II. The History of the Reign of King  
Charles II. from 1660. to 1685.



Printed for the General Assembly of the  
University of Oxford, by J. B. B. B.

yes  
for  
you  
usu  
bee  
of  
fin  
his  
to  
fair  
pro  
bel  
of  
dou  
he  
tha  
a r  
to  
sub  
up  
pla  
and  
this  
the

but  
it w  
of h



## *The Author's Preface.*

**I** AM now beginning to review and write over again the History of my own time, which I first undertook twenty years ago \*, and have been continuing it from year to year ever since: And I see some reason to review it all. I had while I was very young a greater knowledge of affairs than is usual at that age; for my father, who had been engaged in great friendships with men of both sides, living then retired from all business, as he took my education wholly into his own hands, so he took a sort of pleasure to relate to me the series of all publick affairs. And as he was a man so eminent for probity and true piety that I had all reason to believe him, so I saw such an impartial sense of things in him, that I had as little reason to doubt his judgment as his sincerity. For tho' he adhered so firmly to the King and his side, that he was the singular instance in *Scotland* of a man of some note who from the beginning to the end of the war never once owned or submitted to the new form of Government set up all that while; yet he did very freely complain of the errors of the King's Government, and of the Bishops of *Scotland*. So that upon this foundation I set out at first to look into the secret conduct of affairs among us.

\* 3

I fell

\* This the Author wrote some time before the year 1705. but how long, he has not any where told; only it appears it was then finish'd, because in the beginning of the reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, he dates the continuation of his History on the first day of *May*, 1705.



*The Author's Preface.*

I fell into great acquaintance and friendships with several persons who either were or had been Ministers of state, from whom when the secret of affairs was over I studied to know as many particulars as I could draw from them. I saw a great deal more among the Papers of the Dukes of *Hamilton* than was properly a part of their Memoirs, or fit to be told at that time: For when a licence was to be obtained, and a work was to be published fit for that family to own, things foreign to their Ministry, or hurtful to any other families, were not to be intermixed with the account I then gave of the late wars. And now for above thirty years I have lived in such intimacy with all who have had the chief conduct of affairs, and have been so much trusted, and on so many important occasions employed by them, that I have been able to penetrate far into the true secrets of counsels and designs.

THIS made me twenty years ago write down a relation of all that I had known to that time: Where I was in the dark, I pass over all, and only opened those transactions that I had particular occasions to know. My chief design in writing was to give a true view of men and of counsels, leaving publick transactions to Gazetts and the publick Historians of the times. I writ with a design to make both my self and my readers wiser and better, and to lay open the good and bad of all sides and parties, as clearly and impartially as I myself understood it, concealing nothing that I thought fit to be known, and representing things in their natural colours without art or disguise, without any regard to kindred or friends,

### *The Author's Preface.*

friends, to parties or interests: For I do solemnly say this to the world, and make my humble appeal upon it to the great God of truth, that I tell the truth on all occasions, as fully and freely as upon my best inquiry I have been able to find it out: Where things appear doubtful I deliver them with the same incertainty to the world.

SOME may perhaps think that instead of favouring my own profession, I have been more severe upon them than was needful. But my zeal for the true interest of Religion and of the Clergy made me more careful to undeceive good and well meaning men of my own order and profession for the future, and to deliver them from common prejudices and mistaken notions, than to hide or excuse the faults of those who will be perhaps gone off the stage before this work appear on it. I have given the characters of men very impartially and copiously; for nothing guides ones judgment more truly in a relation of matters of fact, than the knowing the tempers and principles of the chief actors.

IF I have dwelt too long on the affairs of Scotland, some allowance is to be made to the affection all men bear to their native country. I alter nothing of what I wrote in the first draught of this work, only I have left out a great deal that was personal to my self, and to those I am descended from: So that this is upon the matter the same work with very little change made in it.

I look on the perfecting of this work, and the carrying it on thro' the remaining part of my life, as the greatest service I can do to

*The Author's Preface.*

God and to the world; and therefore I set about it with great care and caution. For I reckon a lie in history to be as much a greater sin than a lie in common discourse, as the one is like to be more lasting and more generally known than the other. I find that the long experience I have had of the baseness, the malice, and the falsehood of mankind, has inclined me to be apt to think generally the worst both of men and of parties; and indeed the peevishness, the ill nature, and the ambition of many Clergymen has sharpened my spirits perhaps too much against them: So I warn my Reader to take all that I say on these heads with some grains of allowance, tho' I have watched over my self and my pen so carefully that I hope there is no great occasion for this apology.

I have shewed this History to several of my friends, who were either very partial to me, or they esteemed that this work (chiefly when it should be over and over again retouched and polished by me, which very probably I shall be doing as long as I live) might prove of some use to the world. I have on design avoided all laboured periods or artificial strains, and have writ in as clear and plain a style as was possible, chusing rather a copious enlargement, than a dark conciseness.

AND now, O my God, the God of my life, and of all my mercies, I offer this work to thee, to whose honour it is chiefly intended; that thereby I may awaken the world to just reflections on their own errors and follies, and call on them to acknowledge thy Providence, to adore it, and ever to depend on it.

The





## The Bookseller's Advertisement, on this new Edition.

**H**AVING undertaken to reprint in small volumes this excellent History of Bishop Burnet, I have been obliged to read it over with more care & attention than most Readers are apt to do. The importance of the matters here treated of, the great knowledge this Author had of the publick affairs of Europe, and of many very considerable secret transactions; but above all his extraordinary candour & impartiality, with regard to persons & affairs as well Ecclesiastical as civil, are obvious to every Reader, and will make this History be ever esteemed as one of the most valuable & most usefull productions of our age. As to the stile & diction, tho they be generally clear & strong, yet there are a great many places that make an exact Reader wish the Author had seen his work printed in his own life time: He would certainly have made a great many alterations, & mended a great number of faults, which those that have had the care of publishing it have let slip, either thro' inattention, or thro' a too superstitious adhering to the letter of his Will, where he orders his History to be printed without any alterations; or because they could not well read some places of his Manuscript. There are several places where this last seems to have been the case: I shall mention here only one. The Author having described the extraordinary devotions of the Protestors in Scotland, ends with this period, p. 62. They had stories of many sequal conversions that were wrought on these occasions. 'Tis plain that sequal conversions



### The Bookseller's Advertisement.

versions is neither sense nor English: so to mend this, in the Edition printed in Dublin, they have put sequel conversions, which are two English words, but make no sense here, & lead further off from the Authors meaning, as it frequently happens in corrections made by an unskillfull hand. The judicious Reader will easily see that signal conversions is the true reading, as tis printed here p. 98.

The Author had certainly very good reason to ordain in his Will that his History should be printed without any alterations\*; but that ought not in reason to be extended so far as to excuse the leaving so many false constructions, & so many palpable faults as are in the London Edition, against

\* Here is the Clause of the Bishop's Will that concerns this History.

I give all my papers to my son Gilbert, with this express order that none of them be printed; but that he keep them all for his own use, or destroy them as he thinks fit. I only except out of this general order a book entitled *Essays and Meditations on Morality and Religion*; & the HISTORY OF MY OWN TIME, together with the Conclusion, and the HISTORY OF MY OWN LIFE. There are two copies of this History, one in my own hand writing, and another in the hand writing of a servant. In the reading these over I have made several amendments, deletions and additions, having read sometimes the one copy and sometimes the other. So I order the two copies to be compared together, that so all the alterations that I have made may be taken into the printed Edition. I leave it to the discretion of my Executor to print the book of ESSAYS when he pleases, and limit him to no time: But for the History, I limit him in the printing of it to six years after my death, and that it may not be printed sooner; but as to the printing it after six years or the delaying it longer, I refer that to such directions as I may give him by word of mouth: only I require him to print it faithfully as I leave it, without adding suppressing or altering it in any particular; for this is my positive charge and command.

### The Bookseller's Advertisement.

the most obvious rules of Grammar. Sometimes the relatives are so placed as to point to a wrong antecedent & mar the sense: sometimes the conjunctive, & disjunctive particles, are such as mislead the Reader into a wrong meaning, and sometimes into a sense quite contrary to that which the Author intended. Most of these faults have without doubt been occasioned, by the frequent additions and interlineings the Author made at different & far distant times in revising his work, where he often suits his words to the time he made the addition in and not to the time he is treating of. See p. 405. in fol. and 718. of this Edit. where treating of the affairs of 1077. he says the late King told me, and means King William. A great many such passages must needs puzzle every Reader: so they should have been corrected by the Editor in revising the printed sheets, where they are much easier to be perceived than in the Manuscript. There has been some pains taken to correct most of those faults in this Edition; so that the Reader will not be so often stopp'd short, and at a loss to find the Author's meaning. Yet care has been taken not to extend too far this liberty of correcting; it has only been used where the changing of a word or syllable was necessary to make clear a phrase or sense that was perplexed; or in spelling aright several names of persons and places that were wrong spelled in the first Edition. Some knowledge of the persons and matters treated of in this work has been very useful to me in revising it: and I have proceeded with such care and caution that I am not so much afraid of being blamed for too much, as for too little correcting of the faults and negligences of the style. As for the correcting of the press, tho' I have taken a good deal of pains,

### The Bookseller's Advertisement.

to do it well, yet it is not so as I could wish it. I have laboured with unskilfull and incorrect workmen, who oftentimes have neglected to correct as I marked, and sometimes have corrected wrong, so as to make two faults where there was but one. The faults which I have found in reading over that may affect the sense, I have marked here below, that the Reader may if he pleases mend them with his pen; as for the other literal faults that do not affect the sense, the candid & Judicious will easily pardon them, as knowing 'tis not so easy as some imagine to have any thing without faults: And to make or print a book without faults would be one of the best proofs of Infallibility that I know.

The Tables of this Edition are more full and more exact than in the former Editions, and will be of more use to the Readers.

I once intended to have prefixed to this History some account of the Authors life, and of the works he has written and published, and I had prepared some materials for it. But since the History of his own life written by himself, is to be published after the second part of this History, I find 'tis better to wait for that, than to anticipate it by any imperfect account that could be given by any other person in comparison of what his own will be. Besides the Reader will find a good deal of the Authors life in this present work; and to satisfy him further I have here added his Epitaph, taken from his monument in the Church of St. James Clerkenwell, Middlesex, where he was buried on the 22. of March 1715.



H. S. E.

**GILBERTUS BURNET S.T.P.**

**Episcopus Sarisburiensis**

Et nobilissimi Ordinis à Periscelide  
Cancellarius.

Natus Edinburgi 18. die Septembris A. D. 1643.

Parentibus, *Roberto Burnet Domino de  
Cremont*, ex antiquissima Domo de *Lees*, &  
*Rachele Johnston*, sorore Domini de *War-  
rison*.

*Aberdonia* literis instructus, *Saltoni* curæ  
animarum invigilavit: inde juvenis adhuc S.  
S. T. P. in Academia *Glasgoensi* electus est.

Postquam in *Angliam* transiit, rem Sacram  
per aliquot annos in Templo Rotulorum  
*Londini* administravit; donec nimis acriter  
(ut iis qui rerum tum potiebantur visum est)  
*Ecclesiæ Romanæ* malas artes insectatus, ab  
officio submotus est. E patria, temporum  
iniquitate, profugus, *Europam* peragravit; &  
deinceps cum PRINCIPE AURIACO  
reversus, primus omnium a REGE GU-  
LIELMO & REGINA MARIA  
Præsul designatus, & in summum tandem  
fiduciæ testimonium, ab eodem Principe  
DUCI GLOCESTRIENCI Præcep-  
tor datus est.

Tyrannidi & superstitioni semper infensum  
scripta eruditissima demonstrant; nec non li-  
bertatis patriæ veræque Religionis strenuum  
semperque indefessum propugnatorem: qua-  
rum utriusque conservandæ spem unam jam



à longo tempore in illustrissima Domo Brunsvicensi collocarat.

Postquam autem Dei Providentia singulari REGEM GEORGIUM Sceptro Britannico potitum conspexerat, breve jam annorum & felicitatis satur e vivis excessit.

Duxit uxorem Dominam *Margaritam Kennedy* Comitis *Cassiliae* filiam, dein *Mariam Scott* Hagæ-Comitis, quæ ei septem liberos peperit, quorum adhuc in vivis sunt *Gulielmus*, *Gilbertus*, *Maria*, *Elisabetta*, & *Thomas*. Postremo uxorem duxit viduam *Berkeley*, quæ duos liberos suscepit, fato præmaturæ, non multo post extinctos.

Amplissimam pecuniam in pauperibus alendis, & in sumptibus ad utilitatem publicam spectantibus, vivus continuo erogavit; moriens duo millia aureorum *Aberdonia Salton*que ad juventutem pauperiorem instituendam testamento legavit.

Obiit 17. die Martii A. D. 1711. Etatis suæ 73.

## ERRATA.

Page 5. l. 11. read, a great defect. p. 47. in marg. r. The new model. p. 54 l. 9. r. affairs. p. 126. l. 3. from below, r. all the four. p. 357. l. 25. r. in the Country. p. 363. l. 9. r. he was made. p. 394 l. 5. r. or to labour. p. 396. l. 12. r. tho' this was ordered. p. 429. l. 18. r. or as the French. p. 493. l. 4. from below, r. to keep all things. p. 511. l. 18. r. that knew not.

TABLE

# T A B L E OF THE CONTENTS

Of the first Volume.

## B O O K I.

A summary Recapitulation of the state of affairs in *Scotland*, both in Church and State, from the beginning of the Troubles to the Restoration of King *Charles II.* 1660.

**T**HE distractions during King *James's* minority. Page 2

The practices of the House of *Guis*. 3

King *James* in the interest of *England*. 4

A censure of *Spotswood's* history. 5

King *James* studies to gain the Papists. 5

And to secure the succession to the Crown of *England*. 5

His errors in Government. 7

He set up Episcopacy in *Scotland*. 8

With a design to carry matters farther. 8

Errors of the Bishops. 9

Prince *Henry* was believed to be poisoned. 10

The Gunpowder plot. 10

King *James* was afraid of the Jesuites. 11

The Elector *Palatine's* marriage. 12

The affairs of *Bohemia*. 13

The disorders in *Holland*. 14

Some passages of the Religion of some Princes. 16

King *James* parted with the cautionary towns. 17

King *James* broke the greatness of the Crown. 18

Other errors in his Reign. 19

His death. 20

The Puritains gain'd ground. 21

*Gowry's* conspiracy. 22

King *Charles* at first a friend to the Puritans. 24

The

# TABLE OF THE

He designed to recover the Tythes and Church lands in <i>Scotland</i> to the Crown.	25
He was crowned in <i>Scotland</i> .	27
<i>Balmerinock's</i> trial.	29
He was condemned.	34
But pardoned.	<i>ibid.</i>
A Liturgy prepared.	35
The feblecness of the Government.	36
<i>Saville's</i> forgery prevailed on the <i>Scots</i> .	37
The characters of the chief Covenanters.	38
The <i>Scots</i> come into <i>England</i> .	39
Great discontents in <i>England</i> .	40
The ill state of the King's affairs.	41
The Earl of <i>Sirafford</i> given up by the King.	44
The new model of Presbytery in <i>Scotland</i> .	47
The chief Ministers of the Party.	48
Their studies and other methods.	49
Their great severity.	50
Conditions offered to the <i>Scots</i> .	51
<i>Montrose's</i> undertakings.	52
Good advices given to the King.	55
But not followed.	56
<i>Antrim's</i> correspondence with King and Queen.	58
The original of the <i>Irish</i> massacre.	60
<i>Cromwell</i> argues with the <i>Scots</i> concerning the King's death.	62
The opposition of the General Assembly to the Parliament.	63
Origine of the Whiggs.	64
The treaty in the Isle of <i>Wight</i> .	65
<i>Cromwell's</i> dissimulation.	67
Men chiefly engaged in taking the King's life.	69
The King's behaviour.	70
The affair of <i>Rochelle</i> .	71
A design of making the <i>Spanish Netherlands</i> a Commonwealth.	72
The ill effects of violent counsels.	74
The account of <i>Elizabeth</i> .	76
The <i>Scots</i> treat with King <i>Charles II.</i>	77
	<i>Mont-</i>



## CONTENTS.

Montrose's offers.	78
And death.	79
The defeat at <i>Dunbar</i> .	81
Disputes about the admitting all persons to serve their country.	84
Great hardships put on the King.	86
<i>Scotland</i> was subdued by <i>Monk</i> .	88
A body stood out in the <i>Highlands</i> .	89
Sir <i>Robert Murray</i> 's character.	90
Messages sent to the King.	92
The state of <i>Scotland</i> during the <i>Usurpation</i> .	93
Disputes among the <i>Convenanters</i> .	94
Methods taken on both sides.	97
An account of <i>Sharp</i> .	99
Some of <i>Cromwell</i> 's maxims.	100
His design for the Kingship.	104
<i>Cromwell</i> 's engagement with <i>France</i> .	110
The King turn'd Papist.	115
<i>Cromwell</i> 's design on the <i>West Indies</i> .	116
His zeal for the Protestant Religion.	119
A great design for the interest of the Protestant Religion.	121
Some passages in <i>Cromwell</i> 's life.	<i>ibid.</i>
His moderation in Government.	125
His publick spirit.	126
All the world was afraid of him.	127
The ruin of his family.	129
Great disorders followed.	131
All turn to the King's side.	135
Care taken to manage the Army.	136
A new Parliament.	139
They call home the King without a treaty.	140
<b>BOOK II.</b>	
Of the first twelve years of the Reign of King <i>Charles II.</i> from the year 1660. to the year 1673.	
1660. MANY went over to the <i>Hague</i> .	144
The Nation was overrun with vice and drunkenness.	145
	* *
	The



## TABLE OF THE

The King's character.	146
Clarendon's character.	148
Ormond's character.	149
Southampton's character.	150
Shaftsbury's character.	151
Anglesey's character.	153
Hollis's character.	<i>ibid.</i>
Manchester's character.	154
Roberts's character.	<i>ibid.</i>
Clarges's character.	155
Morrice's character.	156
Nicolas's character.	<i>ibid.</i>
Arlington's character.	<i>ibid.</i>
Buckingham's character.	157
Bristol's character.	159
Lauderdale's character.	<i>ibid.</i>
Crawford's character.	161
Rothes's character.	162
Tyesdale's character.	<i>ibid.</i>
Duke Hamilton's character.	<i>ibid.</i>
Kincairdin's character.	163
The general character of the old Cavaliers.	164
Primrose's character.	165
Fletcher's character.	<i>ibid.</i>
Advices offer'd in the <i>Scottish</i> affairs.	166
For a general indemnity.	<i>ibid.</i>
Argile sent to the Tower.	168
The Citadels of <i>Scotland</i> demolished.	169
Disputes concerning Episcopacy.	170
A Ministry settled in <i>Scotland</i> .	174
A Council propos'd to sit at Court for <i>Scottish</i> affairs.	176
The Committee of Estates meet in <i>Scotland</i> .	178
A Parliament in <i>Scotland</i> .	181
1661.	
The Lords of the Articles.	182
The Acts pass'd in this Session.	184
An Act rescinding all Parliaments held since the year 1633.	187
	It

# CONTENTS

146	It was not liked by the King.	190
148	The Presbyterians in great disorder.	191
149	<i>Argile's</i> attainder.	194
150	And execution.	199
151	The execution of <i>Guthry</i> a Minister.	200
153	Some others were proceeded against.	202
ibid.	<i>Middletown</i> gave an account of all that had pass'd	
154	in Parliament to the King.	203
ibid.	It was resolv'd to set up Episcopacy in <i>Scotland</i> .	208
155	Men sought out to be Bishops.	211
156	Bishop <i>Leighsqun's</i> character	214
ibid.	The <i>Scottish</i> Bishops consecrated.	225
ibid.	1662.	
157	The meetings of the Presbyteries forbidden.	228
159	The new Bishops came down to <i>Scotland</i> .	230
ibid.	They were brought into Parliament.	231
161	Scruples about the Oath of Supremacy.	234
162	Debates about an act of indemnity.	237
ibid.	It was desired that some might be incapacitated.	239
ibid.	<i>Lorn</i> condemned.	242
163	Some incapacitated by ballot.	243
164	The King was displeased with this.	245
165	Great pains taken to excuse <i>Middleton</i> .	247
ibid.	The Presbyterian Ministers silenced.	248
166	A general character of them.	253
ibid.	Prejudices infus'd against Episcopacy.	257
168	1660.	
169	The affairs of <i>England</i> .	258
170	<i>Clarendon's</i> just and moderate notions.	260
174	<i>Venner's</i> fury.	261
176	The old Troops disbanded & new raised.	262
178	The trial and execution of the Regicides.	263
181	Of <i>Peters</i> , & <i>Harrison</i> .	264
	<i>Goodwin</i> .	265
	1661.	
182	<i>Vane's</i> character.	266
184	And execution.	267
ce the	The King gave himself up to his pleasures.	268
187	The act of indemnity maintained.	269
It	1662.	

# TABLE OF THE

1662.

The King's marriage.	270
An alliance propos'd from <i>France</i> .	272
The Duke of <i>York</i> 's marriage.	273
The Duke's character.	275
The Duchess's character.	278
The Duke of <i>Glocester</i> 's character, & death.	<i>ibid.</i>
The Princess Royal.	279
The prospect of the Royal Family changed.	280
<i>Schomberg</i> went thro' <i>England</i> to <i>Portugal</i> .	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Dunkirk</i> sold to the <i>French</i> .	281
<i>Tangier</i> a part of the Queen's portion.	282
The manner of the King's marriage.	284
The King lived in an avow'd course of lewdness.	285

1660.

The Settlement of <i>Ireland</i> .	286
The Bishops who had then the greatest credit.	288
<i>Sheldon</i> and <i>Morley</i> .	289
<i>Hammond</i> and <i>Duppa</i> .	290
Debates concerning the uniting with the Presbyterians.	290
A treaty in the <i>Savoy</i> .	293
<i>Baxter</i> 's character.	295
<i>Gunning</i> 's character.	296

1661.

The terms of conformity made harder.	298
The Act of Uniformity.	299
The great fines then rais'd on the Church estates ill applied.	305
Divines call'd Latitudinarians.	306
<i>Witchcot</i> , <i>Cudworth</i> .	306
<i>Wilkins</i> , <i>More</i> .	307
Of <i>Hobbs</i> and his <i>Leviathan</i> .	307
A character of some Divines. <i>Tillotson</i> .	309
<i>Stillingfleet</i> .	310
<i>Patrick</i> . <i>Lloyd</i> .	311
<i>Tennison</i> .	312
The way of preaching which then prevailed.	313

1662.



# CONTENTS.

1662.

The Act of Uniformity executed with rigor.	314
The Royal Society. <i>S. Ward. R. Boyle.</i>	316
Consultations among the Papists.	317
A Declaration for toleration.	318
Designed for the Papists.	319
<i>P. Walsh</i> , a Priest.	320

1663.

<i>Bristol's</i> designs.	322
He accused <i>Clarendon</i> in the House of Lords.	323
The last subsidies given by the Convocation.	324
A plot discovered.	325
The design of a war with the States.	326
<i>Downing's</i> character.	326
The affairs of Scotland.	329
<i>Middleton</i> was accused by <i>Lauderdale</i> .	329
And turned out of all.	333
<i>Warriston's</i> execution.	334
An act against Conventicles.	335
The constitution of a national Synod.	336
An act offering an army to the King.	337
<i>Argile</i> restored.	338

1664.

<i>Sharp</i> drove very violently.	338
<i>Lauderdale</i> gave way to it.	339
<i>Burnet</i> Archbishop of <i>Glasgow</i> .	340
A view of the state of affairs in <i>Holland</i> and <i>France</i> .	341
<i>Sharp</i> aspired to be Chancellor of Scotland.	342
<i>Rothes</i> had the whole power of Scotland put in his hands.	344

1665.

Illegal and severe proceedings in Scotland.	345
<i>Turner</i> executed the Laws in a military way.	348
<i>Sharp</i> accuses <i>Lauderdale</i> , & retracts.	349
<i>Sharp</i> studies to bring <i>Middleton</i> into business again.	350
More forces raised in Scotland.	352

# TABLE OF THE

1666.

Some eminent Clergymen offended at these proceedings. 354

Mr. Nairn. *ibid.*

Mr. Charteris. 355

Some grievances of the Clergy laid before the Bishops. 358

1664.

Affairs in England. 349

The Dutch war. *ibid.*

1665.

The Plague broke out at the same time. 360

The victory at sea not followed. *ibid.*

An account of the affairs in Holland. 362

J. de Witt's character. 363

Account of the affairs of Bergen. 366

The Parliament at Oxford. 370

The five mile Act. 371

Dr. Earl Bishop of Sarum. 371

The design of the Commonwealth party. 374

The Duke of York's jealousy. 375

His amours. 376

1666.

The Fleet almost lost, was saved by Prince Rupert. 378

The fire of London. 379

It was charged on the Papists. 380

A strong presumption of it. 381

Yet left uncertain. 383

Disorders in Scotland. 385

A rebellion in the West. 387

The defeat given the rebels at Pentland-hill. 389

Severe proceedings against the prisoners. 390

1667.

The King is more gentle than the Bishops. 392

A change of counsel, and more moderation in the Government. 395

The Dutch fleet came into the Frish. 399

And went to Chatham, and burnt our fleet 400

A

# CONTENTS.

pro-	A great change in <i>Lauderdale's</i> temper.	404
354	Of Mr. <i>Murray</i> , & his Daughter Countess of	404
ibid.	<i>Dyffert</i> .	404
355	<i>Scotland</i> well governed.	406
the	Great complaints made of the Clergy.	408
358	Affairs in <i>England</i> .	410
	<i>Clarendon's</i> disgrace.	411
	<i>Southampton's</i> death.	412
349	The <i>Irish</i> sought the protection of <i>France</i> .	414
ibid.	The Duke of <i>Richmond's</i> marriage.	416
	<i>Bridgman</i> made Lord Keeper.	417
360	<i>Wilkins</i> made Bishop of <i>Chester</i> .	418
ibid.	The <i>French</i> King's pretensions to <i>Flandres</i> .	419
362	The Triple Alliance.	419
363	<i>Clarendon's</i> integrity.	419
366	He was impeached in the House of Commons.	420
370	The King desired he would go beyond sea.	422
371	He was banished by Act of Parliament.	423
371	The character of his two sons.	425
374	The King was much offended with the Bishops.	426
375	1668.	
376	A treaty for a comprehension of the Presbyterians.	427
Ru-	<i>Andrew Marvel</i> .	429
378	The City of <i>London</i> rebuilt.	429
379	Designs for putting away the Queen.	430
380	A divorce enacted for adultery.	432
381	A great dissolution of morals in Court.	483
383	Many libels writ by the bests wits of that time.	485
385	<i>Dorset's</i> character.	485
387	<i>Rochester</i> .	486
389	<i>Sidley</i> .	487
390	<i>Duncomb</i> .	487
	Sir <i>William Coventry's</i> character.	488
392	The Government of <i>Ireland</i> changed.	488
1 in	Lord <i>Roberts</i> .	489
395	Lord <i>Berkley</i> .	490
399	The Committee of <i>Brook-house</i> .	490
400	<i>Halifax's</i> character.	491
A		1669.



# TABLE I &c

Many Parliament men gained by the Court.	493
Coventry's nose was cut.	495
A new prosecution of Conventicles.	497
The King went often to the House of Lords.	497
The Prince of Orange came to the King.	499
The affairs of Scotland.	500
A treaty for an accommodation with the Presbyterians in Scotland.	501
An indulgence proposed.	505
An attempt to murder Sharp.	506
Sharp proposed the indulging some ministers that did not conform.	507
Propositions for uniting the two Kingdoms.	510
The King gave orders for the indulgence.	512
This complained of as against law.	515
A Parliament in Scotland.	517
The Supremacy carried very high.	518
An Act for the County militia.	519
Burnet turned out of the See of Glasgow.	521
The state I found things in at Glasgow.	522
A Committee of Council sent round the West.	523
Leighton made Archbishop of Glasgow.	524
1670.	
Instructions for an accommodation.	525
Leighton's advices to his Clergy.	526
A Conference between Leighton and some Presbyterians.	527
New severities against Conventicles.	530
Of the reformed Religion.	531
The Presbyterians resolved to reject the offers made them.	533
Some conferences upon that subject.	536
At last they refused to accept of the concessions.	537
Censures past upon this whole matter.	539

End of the Table of the first Volume.



THE

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
MY OWN TIMES.

BOOK I.

*A summary Recapitulation of the state of Affairs in Scotland, both in Church and State; from the beginning of the Troubles, to the Restoration of King Charles the Second, 1660.*

THE mischiefs of civil wars are so great and lasting, and the effects of them branching out by many accidents, that were not thought on at first much less intended, into such mischievous consequences, that I have thought it an enquiry that might be of great use both to Prince and People, to look carefully  
A into



into the first beginnings and occasions of them, to observe their progress, and the errors on both hands, the provocations that were given, and the jealousies that were raised by them, together with the excesses into which both sides have run by turns. And tho' the wars be over long ago, yet since they have left among us so many seeds of lasting feuds and animosities, which upon every turn are apt to ferment and to break out anew, it will be as useful as well as a pleasant enquiry to look back to the first original of them, and to observe by what degrees and accidents they gathered strength, and at last broke forth into a flame.

The distractions during King James's minority;

THE Reformation of *Scotland* was popular and parliamentary: The Crown was, during that time, either on the head of a Queen that was absent, or of a King that was an infant. During his minority matters were carried on by the several Regents, so as was most agreeable to the prevailing humour of the Nation. But when King *James* grew to be of age, he found two parties in the Kingdom. The one was of those who wished well to the interest of the Queen his Mother, then a prisoner in *England*. These were either professed Papists, or men believed to be indifferent as to all religions. The others were her inveterate enemies, zealous for the Reformation, and fixed in a dependence on the Crown of *England*, and in a jealousy of *France*. When the King saw that those who were most in his interests were likewise jealous of his authority, and apt to encroach upon it, he hearkned first to the insinuations of his Mother's party, who were always infusing in him a jealousy of these his friends;



before the RESTORATION. 3

friends; saying, that by ruining his Mother, and setting him in her room while a year old, they had ruined Monarchy, and made the Crown subject and precarious; and had put him in a very unnatural posture, of being seized of his Mother's Crown while she was in exile and a prisoner; adding, that he was but a King in name, the power being in the hands of those who were under the management of the Queen of *England*.

THEIR insinuations would have been of less force, if the House of *Guise*, who were his Cousin Germans, had not been engaged in great designs, of transferring the Crown of *France* from the House of *Bourbon* to themselves; in order to which it was necessary to embroil *England*, and to draw the King of *Scotland* into their interests. So under the pretence of keeping up the old alliances between *France* and *Scotland*, they sent creatures of their own to be Ambassadors there: and they also sent a graceful young man, who, as he was the King's nearest kinsman by his father, was of so agreeable a temper that he became his Favourite, and was made by him Duke of *Lenox*. He was known to be a Papist, tho' he pretended he changed his religion, and became in profession a Protestant.

THE Court of *England* discovered all these artifices of the *Guisians*, who were then the most implacable enemies of the Reformation, & were managing all that train of plots against Queen *Elizabeth*, that in conclusion proved fatal to the Queen of *Scots*. And when the *English* Ministers saw the inclinations of the young King lay so strongly that way, that all their applications to gain him were ineffectual, they infused such a jealousy

The practices of the House of *Guise*.

#### 4 SUMMARY of Affairs

of him into all their party in *Scotland*, that both Nobility and Clergy were much allarmed at it.

BUT King *James* learnt early that piece of King-craft, of disguising, or at least denying every thing that was observed in his behaviour that gave offence.

THE main instance in which the *French* management appeared, was that he could not be prevailed on to enter into any treaty of marriage. It was not safe to talk of marrying a Papist; and as long as the Duke of *Guise* lived, the King, tho' then three and twenty and the only person of his family, would hearken to no proposition for marrying a Protestant.

King *James*  
in the inter-  
est of Eng-  
land.

BUT when the Duke of *Guise* was killed at *Blois*, and that *Henry* the third was murdered soon after, so that *Henry* the fourth came in his room, King *James* was no more in a *French* management: So presently after he married a Daughter of *Denmark*, and ever after that he was wholly managed by Queen *Elizabeth* and her Ministers. I have seen many letters among *Walsingham's* papers that discover the commerce between the House of *Guise* and him: But the most valuable of these is a long paper of instructions to one Sir *Richard Wigmor*, a great man for hunting, and for all such sports, to which King *James* was out of measure addicted. The Queen affronted him publickly: Upon which he pretended he could live no longer in *England*, and therefore withdrew to *Scotland*. But all this was a contrivance of *Walsingham's*, who thought him a fit person to get into that King's favour: So that affront was designed to give him the more credit. He was very particularly instructed in all



before the RESTORATION. S

all the proper methods to gain upon the King's confidence, and to observe and give an account of all he saw in him; which he did very faithfully. By these instructions it appears that *Walsingham* thought that King was either inclined to turn Papist, or to be of no religion. And when the Court of *England* saw that they could not depend on him, they raised all possible opposition to him in *Scotland*, infusing strong jealousies into those who were enough inclined to receive them.

THERE is great defect that runs thro' Archbishop *Spotswood's* history, where much of the rude opposition the King met with, particularly from the Assemblies of the *Kirk*, is set forth; but the true ground of all the jealousies they were possessed with is suppressed by him. After his marriage they studied to remove those suspicions all that was possible; and he granted the *Kirk* all the laws they desired, and got his temporal authority to be better established than it was before: Yet as the jealousies of his fickleness in religion were never quite removed, so they gave him many new disgusts: They wrought in him a most inveterate hatred of Presbytery, and of the power of the *Kirk*; and he fearing an opposition in his succeeding to the Crown of *England*, from the Papist party, which, tho' it had little strength in the House of Commons, yet was very great in the House of Lords, and was very considerable in all the northern parts, and among the body of the people, employed several persons who were known to be Papists tho' they complied outwardly. The chief of these were *Elphinston*, Secretary of State, whom he made Lord *Balmerinock*; and *Seaton*, afterwards Chancellour

A censure  
of *Spots-  
wood's* his-  
tory.



## 6 A SUMMARY of Affairs

King James  
studied to  
gain the  
Papists.

and Earl of *Dunfermling*. By their means he studied to assure the Papists that he would connive at them. A letter was also writ to the Pope by him, giving assurance of this, which when it came to be published by *Bellarmin*, upon the prosecution of the recusants after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, *Balmerinoch* did affirm, that he out of zeal to the King's service got his hand to it, having put it in the bundle of papers that were signed in course without the King's knowing any thing of it. Yet when that discovery drew no other severity but the turning him out of office, and the passing a sentence condemning him to die for it (which was presently pardoned, and he was after a short confinement restored to his liberty) all men believed that the King knew of the letter, and that the pretended confession of the Secretary was only collusion to lay the jealousies of the King's favouring Popery, which still hung upon him notwithstanding his writing on the *Revelation*, and his affecting to enter on all occasions into controversy, asserting in particular that the Pope was Antichrist.

And to secure the  
succession  
to the  
Crown of  
England.

AS he took these methods to manage the Popish party, he was much more careful to secure to himself the body of the *English* nation. *Cecil*, afterwards Earl of *Salisbury*, Secretary to Queen *Elizabeth*, entred into a particular confidence with him: And this was managed by his Ambassador *Bruce*, a younger brother of a noble family in *Scotland*, who carried the matter with such address and secrecy, that all the great Men of *England*, without knowing of one another's doing it, and without the Queen's suspecting any thing concerning it, signed in writing an engagement to assert  
and

before the RESTORATION. 7

and stand by the King of *Scots* right of succession. This great service was rewarded by making him Master of the Rolls, and a Peer of *Scotland*. And as the King did raise *Cecil* and his friends to the greatest posts and dignities, so he raised *Bruce's* family here in *England*.

WHEN the King came to the crown of *England* he discovered his hatred to the *Scottish* Kirk on many occasions, in which he gratified his resentment without consulting his interest. He ought to have put his utmost strength to the finishing what he but faintly begun for the the union of both Kingdoms, which was lost by his unreasonable partiality in pretending that *Scotland* ought to be considered in this union as the third part of the Isle of *Great Britain*, if not more. So high a demand ruined the design. But when that failed, he should then have studied to keep the affections of that Nation firm to him: And certainly he, being secure of that Kingdom, might have so managed matters, as to have prevented that disjointing which happened afterwards in his own reign, and more tragically in his son's. He thought to effect this by his profuse bounty to many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, and to his domestick servants: But as most of these settling in *England* were of no further use to him in that design, so his setting up Episcopacy in *Scotland*, and his constant aversion to the Kirk, how right soever it might be in it self, was a great error in policy; for the poorer that Kingdom was, it was both the more easy to gain them, and the more dangerous to offend them. So the terror which the affections of the *Scotch* Nation might have justly given the *English* was soon

His  
errors in  
Gouvernement.

# 8 A SUMMARY of Affairs

lost, by his engaging the whole Government to support that which was then very contrary to the bent and genius of the Nation.

He set up  
Episcopacy  
in Scotland

BUT tho' he set up Bishops, he had no revenues to give them, but what he was to purchase for them. During his minority all the tithes and the church lands were vested in the Crown; But this was only in order to the granting them away to the men that bore the chief sway. It is true, when he came of age he according to the law of *Scotland* past a general revocation of all that had been done in his infancy; and by this he could have resumed all those grants. He, and after him his son, succeeded in one part of his design: For by act of Parliament a Court was erected that was to examine and sequester a third part of the tithes in every parish, and so make a competent provision out of them to those who served the cure; which had been reserved in the great alienation for the service of the church. This was carried at first to a proportion of about thirty pounds a year, and was afterwards in his son's time raised to about fifty pounds a year; which considering the plenty and way of living in that country is a very liberal provision, and is equal in value to thrice that sum in the southern parts of *England*. In this he had both the Clergy and the body of the people on his side. But he could not so easily provide for the Bishops: They were at first forced to hold their former cures with some small addition.

With a design to carry matters farther.

BUT as they assumed at their first setting up little more authority than that of a constant president of the Presbyters, so they met with much rough opposition. The King intended to carry on



*before the* RESTORATION. 9

on a conformity in matters of religion with *England*; and he began to buy in from the Grantees many of the estates that belonged to the Bishoppicks. It was also enacted, that a form of prayer should be drawn for *Scotland*: And the King was authorized to appoint the habits in which the divine offices were to be performed. Some of the chief holy-days were ordered to be observ'd. The Sacrament was to be received kneeling, and to be given to the sick. Confirmation was enacted; as also the use of the Cross in Baptism. These things were first past in general Assemblies, which were composed of Bishops and the deputies chosen by the Clergy, who sat all in one house; and in it they reckoned the Bishops only as single votes. Great opposition was made to all these steps; And the whole force of the Government was strained to carry elections to those meetings, or to take off those who were chosen; in which it was thought that no sort of practice was omitted. It was pretended, that some were frightened, and others were corrupted.

THE Bishops themselves did their part very ill. They generally grew haughty: They neglected their functions, and were often at Court, and lost all esteem with the people. Some few that were stricter and more learned did lean so grossly to Popery, that the heat and violence of the Reformation became the main subject of their sermons and discourses. King *James* grew weary of this opposition, or was so apprehensive of the ill effects that it might have, that, what through sloth or fear, and what by reason of the great disorder into which his ill conduct brought

Errors of  
the Bishops.

10 A SUMMARY of Affairs

his affairs in *England* in his latter years, he went no further in his designs on *Scotland*.

Prince  
Henry was  
believed to  
be poison-  
ed.

HE had three children. His eldest, Prince *Henry*, was a Prince of great hopes; but so very little like his father, that he was rather feared than loved by him. He was so zealous a Protestant that, when his father was entertaining propositions of marrying him to popish Princesses, once to the Archduchess, and at another time to a daughter of *Savoye*, he in a letter that he wrote to the King on the twelfth of that *October* in which he died (the original of which Sir *William Cook* shewed me) desired, that if his father married him that way it might be with the youngest person of the two, of whose conversion he might have hope; and that any liberty she might be allowed for her religion might be in the privatest manner possible. Whether this aversion to Popery hasten'd his death or not I cannot tell. Colonel *Titus* assured me that he had from King *Charles* the first's own mouth, that he was well assured he was poisoned by the Earl of *Sorceret's* means. It is certain, that from the time of the Gunpowder Plot, King *James* was so struck with the terror of that danger he was then so near, that ever after he had no mind to provoke the Jesuits; for he saw what they were capable of.

The Gun-  
powder-plot.

AND since I name that conspiracy which the Papists in our days have had the impudence to deny, and to pretend it was an artifice of *Cecil's* to engage some desperate men into a Plot, which he managed so that he could discover it when he pleased, I will mention what I myself saw, and had for some time in my possession. Sir *Everard Digby*



before the RESTORATION. II.

*Digby* died for being of the conspiracy: He was the Father of the famous *Sir Kenelm Digby*. The family being ruined upon the death of *Sir Kenelm's* Son, when the executors were looking out for writings to make out the titles of the estates they were to sell, they were directed by an old servant to a cupboard that was very artificially hid, in which some papers lay that she had observed *Sir Kenelm* was oft reading. They looking into it found a velvet bag, within which there were two other silk bags: (So carefully were those relicks kept) And there was within these a collection of all the letters that *Sir Everard* writ during his imprisonment. In these he expresses great trouble, because he heard some of their friends blamed their undertaking. He highly magnifies it; and says, if he had many lives he would willingly have sacrificed them all in carrying it on. In one paper he says, they had taken that care that there were not above two or three worth saving, to whom they had not given notice to keep out of the way: And in none of those papers does he express any sort of remorse for that which he had been engaged in, and for which he suffered.

UPON the discovery of that Plot there was a general prosecution of all Papists set on foot: But King *James* was very uneasy at it; which was much encreased by what *Sir Dudley Carlton* told him upon his return from *Spain*, where he had been Ambassadour; (which I had from the Lord *Hollis*, who said to me that *Sir Dudley Carlton* told it to himself, and was much troubled when he saw it had an effect contrary to what he had intended.) When he came home,

King *James* was afraid of the Jesuits.



12. *A SUMMARY of Affairs*

he found the King at *Theobald's* hunting in a very careless and unguarded manner: And upon that, in order to the putting him on a more careful looking to himself, he told the King he must either give over that way of hunting, or stop another hunting that he was engaged in, which was Priest-hunting: For he had intelligence in *Spain* that the Priests were comforting themselves with this, that if he went on against them they would soon get rid of him. Queen *Elizabeth* was a woman of form, and was always so well attended, that all their plots against her failed, and were never brought to any effect: But a Prince who was always in woods or forests would be easily overtaken. The King sent for him in private to enquire more particularly into this: And he saw it had made a great impression on him, but wrought otherwise than he intended. For the King, resolved to gratifie his humour in hunting and in a careless and irregular way of life, did immediately order all that prosecution to be let fall. I have the minutes of the Council Books of the year 1606, which are full of orders to discharge and transport Priests, sometimes ten in a day. From thence to his dying day he continued always writing and talking against Popery, but acting for it. He married his only daughter to a Protestant Prince, one of the most zealous and sincere of them all, the Elector *Palatine*; upon which a great Revolution happen'd in the affairs of *Germany*. The eldest branch of the House of *Austria* retained some of the impressions that their Father *Maximilian II.* studied to infuse into them, who as he was certainly one of the best and wisest Princes of these

The Elector *Palatine's* Marriage.

before the RESTORATION. 13

these latter ages; so he was unalterably fixed in his opinion against persecution for matters of conscience: His own sentiments were so very favourable to the Protestant doctrine, that he was thought inwardly theirs. His brother *Charles* of *Gratz* was on the other hand wholly managed by the Jesuits, and was a zealous patron of theirs, and as zealously supported by them. *Rodolph* and *Matthias* reigned one after another, but without issue. Their brother *Albert* was then dying in *Flanders*: So *Spain* with the popish interest joined to advance *Ferdinand*, the son of *Charles* of *Gratz*: And he forced *Matthias* to resign the Crown of *Bohemia* to him, and got himself to be elected King. But his government became quickly severe; He resolved to extirpate the Protestants, and began to break thro' the privileges that were secured to them by the laws of that Kingdom.

THIS occasioned a general insurrection, which was followed by an assembly of the States, who together with those of *Silesia* *Moravia* and *Lusatia* joined in deposing *Ferdinand*: And they offered their Crown first to the Duke of *Saxony* who refused it, and then to the Elector *Palatine* who accepted of it, being encouraged to it by his two uncles *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* and the Duke of *Bullion*. But he did not ask the advice of King *James*: He only gave him notice of it when he had accepted the offer. Here was the probablest occasion that has been offered since the Reformation for its full establishment.

THE *English* Nation was much inclined to support it: and it was expected that so near a

The Affairs  
of Bohemia.

con-



## 14 A SUMMARY of Affairs

conjunction might have prevailed on the King : But he had an invincible aversion to War ; and was so possessed of the opinion of a divine right in all Kings , that he could not bear that even an elective and limited King should be called in question by his Subjects. So he would never acknowledge his son-in-law King , nor give him any assistance for the support of his new dignity. And tho' it was also reckoned on that *France* would enter into any design that should bring down the house of *Austria* , and *Spain* by consequence ; yet even that was diverted by the means of *De Luynes* ; a worthless but absolute Favourite , whom the Archduchess *Isabella* , Princess of the *Spanish Netherlands* , gained to oblige the King into a neutrality, by giving him the richest heiress then in *Flanders* , the daughter of *Peguney* , left to her disposal , whom he married to his brother.

The disorders in  
*Holland*.

THUS poor *Frederick* was left without any assistance. The jealousy that the *Lutherans* had of the ascendant that the *Calvinists* might gain by this accession had an unhappy share in the coldness which all the Princes of that confession shewed towards him ; tho' *Saxony* only declared for *Ferdinand* , who likewise engaged the Duke of *Bavaria* at the head of a catholic League to maintain his interests. *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* had embroiled *Holland* by the espousing the controversy about the decrees of God in opposition to the *Arminian* party , and by erecting a new and illegal Court by the authority of the States General to judge of the affairs of the Province of *Holland* ; which was plainly contrary to their constitution , by which every Province

is



before the RESTORATION. 15

is a Sovereignty within itself, not at all subordinate to the States General, who act only as Plenipotentiaries of the several Provinces to maintain their union and their common concerns. By that Assembly *Barneveldt* was condemned and executed; *Grotius* and others were condemned to perpetual imprisonment: And an assembly of the Ministers of the several Provinces met at *Dort*, by the same authority, and condemned and deprived the *Arminians*. *Maurice's* enemies gave it out that he managed all this on design to make himself master of the Provinces, and to put those who were like to oppose him out of the way. But tho' this seem a wild and groundless imagination, and not possible to be compassed; yet it is certain that he looked on *Barneveldt* and his party as men who were so jealous of him and of a military power, that as they had forced the truce with *Spain* so they would be very unwilling to begin a new War; tho' the disputes about *Ju-liers* and *Cleves* had almost engaged them, and the truce was now near expiring; at the end of which he hoped, if delivered from the opposition that he might look for from that party, to begin the War anew. By these means there was a great fermentation over all the Provinces, so that *Maurice* was not then in condition to give the elected King any considerable assistance; tho' indeed he needed it much, for his conduct was very weak. He affected the grandeur of a regal court, and the magnificence of a crowned head too early: And his Queen set up some of the gay diversions that she had been accustomed to in her father's court, such as balls and masks; which very much disgusted the good *Bohemians*, who

who thought that a revolution made on the account of religion ought to have put on a greater appearance of seriousness & simplicity. These particulars I had from the children of some who belonged to that court. The elected King was quickly overthrown, and driven not only out of those his new dominions, but likewise out of his hereditary countries: He fled to *Holland* where he ended his days. I will go no farther in a matter so well known as King *James's* ill conduct in the whole series of that War, and that unheard-of practice of sending his only Son thro' *France* into *Spain*, of which the relations we have are so full that I can add nothing to them.

Some passages of the Religion of some Princes.

I will only here tell some particulars with relation to *Germany*, that *Fabricius*, the wisest Divine I knew among them, told me he had from *Charles Lewis* the Elector *Palatine's* own mouth. He said, *Frederick II.* who first reformed the *Palatinate*, whose life is so curiously writ by *Thomas Hubert* of *Liege*, resolved to shake off Popery, and to set up *Lutheranism* in his country: But a Counsellour of his said to him, that the *Lutherans* would always depend chiefly on the House of *Saxony*: So it would not become him who was the first Elector to be only the second in the party: It was more for his dignity to become a Calvinist: He would be the head of that party: It would give him a great interest in *Switzerland*, and make the *Huguenots* of *France* and in the *Netherlands* depend on him. He was by that determined to declare for the *Helvetian* confession. But upon the ruin of his family the Duke of *Newburgh* had an interview with the Elector of *Brandenburgh* about their concerns

in

in *Juliers* and *Cleves*: And he persuaded that Elector to turn *Calvinist*; for since their family was fallen, nothing would more contribute to raise the other than the espousing that side, which would naturally come under his protection: But he added, that for himself he had turned Papist, since his little Principality lay so near both *Austria* and *Bavaria*. This the Elector told with a sort of pleasure, when he made it appear that other Princes had no more sense of religion than he himself had.

OTHER circumstances concurred to make K. James King James's reign inglorious. The States having borrowed great sums of money of Queen *Elizabeth*, they gave her the *Brill* and *Flushing*, with some other places of less note, in pawn till the money should be repaid. Soon after his coming to the Crown of *England* he entered into secret treaties with *Spain*, in order to the forcing the States to a peace: One article was, that if they were obstinate he would deliver these places to the *Spaniards*. When the truce was made, *Barnevelt*, tho' he had promoted it, yet knowing the secret article, he saw they were very unsafe while the keys of *Holland* & *Zealand* were in the hands of a Prince who might perhaps sell them, or make an ill use of them: So he persuaded the States to redeem the mortgage by repaying the money that *England* had lent, for which these places were put into their hands: And he came over himself to treat about it. K. James, who was profuse upon his favourites and servants, was delighted with the prospect of so much money; and immediately, without calling a Parliament to advise with them about it, he did yield to the proposition. So the money was paid, and the places were evacuated. But his profuseness

parted  
with the  
cautionary  
Towns,



K *James*  
broke the  
greatness  
of the  
Crown.

drew two other things upon him, which groke the whole authority of the Crown, and the dependence of the Nation upon it. The Crown had a great estate over all *England*, which was all let out upon leases for years, and a small rent was reserved. So most of the great families of the Nation were the tenants of the Crown, and a great many Burroughs were depending on the estates so held. The renewal of those leases brought in fines to the Crown, and to the great Officers: Besides that the fear of being denied a renewal kept all in a dependence on the Crown. King *James* obtained of his Parliament a power of granting, that is selling, those estates for ever, with the reserve of the old quit-rent: And all the money raised by this was profusely squandered away. Another main part of the regal authority was the Wards, which anciently the Crown took into their own management. Our Kings were, according to the first institution, the Guardians of the Wards. They bred them up in their courts, and disposed of them in marriage as they thought fit. Afterwards they compounded, or forgave them or gave them to some branches of the family, or to provide the younger children. But they proceeded in this very gently: And the chief care after the Reformation was to breed the wards Protestants. Still all were under a great dependence by this means. Much money was not raised this way; but families were often at mercy, and were used according to their behaviour. K. *James* granted these generally to his servants, & favourites, & they made the most of them. So that what was before a dependance on the Crown, and was moderately compounded for, became then a most exacting

op-

oppression, by which several families were ruined. This went on in King *Charles's* time in the same method. Our Kings thought they gave little when they disposed of a Ward, because they made little of them. All this raised such an outcry, that Mr. *Pierpoint* at the Restoration gathered so many of these instances, and represented them so effectually to that House of Commons that called home King *Charles* the second, that he persuaded them to redeem themselves by an offer of excise, which indeed produces a much greater revenue, but took away the dependence in which all families were held by the dread of leaving their heirs exposed to so great a danger. *Pierpoint* valued himself to me upon this service he did his country, at a time when things were so little considered on either hand, that the Court did not seem to apprehend the value of what they parted with, nor the Country of what they purchased.

BESIDE these publick actions King *James* suffered much in the opinion of all people by his strange way of using one of the greatest men of that age, Sir *Walter Raleigh*; against whom the proceedings at first were much censured; but the last part of them was thought both barbarous and illegal. The whole business of the Earl of *Somerset's* rise and fall, of the Countess of *Essex*, and *Overbury*, the putting the inferior persons to death for that infamous poisoning, and the sparing the principals, both the Earl of *Somerset* and his Lady, were so odious and inhuman, that it quite sunk the reputation of a reign, that on many other accounts was already much exposed to contempt and censure; which was the more sensible, because it succeeded such a glorious and

Other errors in his reign.

10 A SUMMARY of Affairs

happy one. King *James* in the end of his reign was become weary of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who treated him with such an air of insolent contempt that he seemed at last resolved to throw him off, but could not think of taking the load of government on himself, and so resolved to bring the Earl of *Somerset* again into favour, as that Lord reported it to some from whom I had it. He met with him in the night in the gardens at *Theobalds*: Two bed-chamber men were only in the secret: The King embraced him tenderly and with many tears; The Earl of *Somerset* believed the secret was not well kept; for soon after the King was taken ill with some fits of an ague and died of it. My father was then in *London*, and did very much suspect an ill practice in the matter: But perhaps Doctor *Craig*, my mother's uncle, who was one of the King's Physicians, possessed him with these apprehensions; for he was disgraced for saying he believed the King was poisoned. It is certain no King could die less lamented or less esteemed than he was. This sunk the credit of the Bishops of *Scotland*, who as they were his creatures, so they were obliged to a great dependence on him, and were thought guilty of gross and abject flattery towards him. His reign in *England* was a continued course of mean practices. The first condemnation of Sir *Walter Raleigh* was very black: But the executing him after so many years, and after an employment that had been given him, was counted a barbarous sacrificing him to the *Spaniards*. The rise and fall of the Earl of *Somerset's*, and the swift progress of the Duke of *Buckingham's* greatness, were things that exposed him

His  
Death.



before the RESTORATION. 21

him to the censure of all the world. I have seen the originals of about twenty letters that he wrote to the Prince and that Duke while they were in Spain, which shew a meanness as well as a fondness that render him very contemptible. The great figure the Crown of England had made in Queen Elizabeth's time, who had rendered her self the arbiter of Christendom, and was the wonder of the age, was so much eclipsed if not quite darkened during this reign, that King James was become the scorn of the age; and while hungry writers flattered him out of measure at home, he was despised by all abroad as a Pedant without true judgment, courage, or steadiness, subject to his Favourites and delivered up to the counsels or rather the corruption of Spain.

THE Puritans gained credit, as the King and the Bishops lost it. They put on external appearances of great strictness and gravity: They took more pains in their parishes than those who adhered to the Bishops, & were often preaching against the vices of the Court; for which they were sometimes punished, tho' very gently, which raised their reputation, & drew presents to them that made up their sufferings abundantly. They begun some particular methods of getting their people to meet privately with them: And in those meetings they gave great vent to extemporary prayer, which was looked on as a sort of inspiration: And by these means they grew very popular. They were very factious & insolent; & both in their sermons & prayers were always mixing severe reflections on their enemies. Some of them boldly gave out very many predictions; particularly two of them who were held Prophets, Davison and Bruce.

The  
Puri-  
tans  
gained  
ground

## 22 A SUMMARY of Affairs

Some of the things that they foretold came to pass: But my father, who knew them both, told me of many of their predictions that he himself heard them throw out, which had no effect: But all these were forgot, and if some more probable guesses which they delivered as prophecies were accomplished, these were much magnified. They were very spiteful against all those who differed from them; and were wanting in no methods that could procure either good usage, or good presents. Of this my father had great occasion to see many instances: For my great grand-mother, who was a very rich woman and much engaged to them, was most obsequiously courted by them. *Bruce* lived concealed in her house for some years: And they all found such advantages in their submissions to her, that she was counted for many years the chief support of the party. Her name was *Rachel Arnot*. She was daughter to Sir *John Arnot*, a man in great favour, and Lord Treasurer deputy. Her husband *Johnstoun* was the greatest merchant at that time; and left her an estate of 2000 pound a year, to be disposed of among his children as she pleased: And my father marrying her eldest grand-child saw a great way into all the methods of the Puritans.

Gowry's  
son-  
spira-  
cy

*Gowry's* conspiracy was by them charged on the King, as a contrivance of his to get rid of that Earl, who was then held in in great esteem: But my father, who had taken great pains to enquire into all the particulars of that matter, did always believe it was a real conspiracy. One thing, which none of the Historians have taken any notice of, and might have induced the Earl of

of

of Gowry to have wished to put King *James* out of the way, but in such a disguised manner that he should seem rather to have escaped out of a snare himself than to have laid one for the King, was this: Upon the King's death he stood next to the succession to the Crown of *England*: for King *Henry* the seventh's daughter that was married to King *James* the fourth, did after his death marry *Dowglas* Earl of *Angus*: But they could not agree: So a precontract was proved against him: Upon which, by a sentence from *Rome*, the marriage was voided, with a clause in favour of the issue, since born under a marriage *de facto* and *bona fide*. Lady *Margaret Dowglas* was the child so provided for. I have perused the original Bull confirming the divorce. After that, the Queen Dowager married one *Francis Steward*, and had by him a son made Lord *Merbuen* by King *James* the fifth. In the patent he is called *frater noster uterinus*. He had only a daughter, who was mother or grandmother to the Earl of *Gowry*: So that by this he might be glad to put the King out of the way, that so he might stand next to the succession of the Crown of *England*. He had a brother then a child, who when he grew up and found he could not carry the name of *Ruthen*, which by an act of Parliament made after this conspiracy none might carry, he went and lived beyond sea; and it was given out that he had the philosopher's stone. He had two sons who died without issue, and one daughter married to Sir *Anthony Vandike* the famous picture drawer, whose children according to this pedigree stood very near to the succession of the Crown. It was not easy to persuade the nation of the truth



of that conspiracy: For eight years before that time King *James*, on a secret jealousy of the Earl of *Murray*, then esteemed the handsomest man of *Scotland*, set on the Marquis of *Huntly*, who was his mortal enemy, to murder him; and by a writing all in his own hand he promised to save him harmless for it. He set the house in which he was on fire: And the Earl flying away was followed and murdered, and *Huntly* sent *Gordon* of *Buckey* with the news to the King: Soon after, all who were concerned in that vile fact were pardoned, which laid the King open to much censure: And this made the matter of *Gowry* to be the less believed.

King  
Charles  
at first  
a friend  
to the  
Puri-  
tans.

WHEN King *Charles* succeeded to the Crown he was at first thought favourable to the Puritans, for his Tutor and all his Court were of that way; And Dr. *Preston*, then the head of the party, came up in the coach from *Theobalds* to *London* with the King and the Duke of *Buckingham*; which being against the rules of the Court gave great offence: But it was said, the King was so over charged with grief, that he wanted the comfort of so wise and so great a man. It was also given out, that the Duke of *Buckingham* offered Dr. *Preston* the Great Seal; But he was wiser than to accept of it. I will go no further into the beginning of that reign with relation to *English* affairs, which are fully opened by others. Only I will tell one particular which I had from the Earl of *Lothian*, who was bred up in the Court, and whose father, the Earl of *Ancram*, was gentleman of the Bedchamber, tho' himself was ever much hated by the King. He told me, that King *Charles* was much offended with King *James's*

*James's* light and familiar way, which was the effect of hunting and drinking, on which occasions he was very apt to forget his dignity, and to break out into great indecencies. On the other hand the solemn gravity of the Court of *Spain* was more suited to his own temper, which was fullen even to a moroseness. This led him to a grave reserved deportment, in which he forgot the civilities and the affability that the nation naturally loved, & to which they had been long accustomed: Nor did he in his outward deportment take any pains to oblige any persons whatsoever: So far from that, he had such an ungracious way of shewing favour, that the manner of bestowing it was almost as mortifying as the favour was obliging. I turn now to the affairs of *Scotland*, which are but little known.

THE King resolved to carry on two designs that his father had set on foot, but had let the prosecution of them fall in the last years of his reign. The first of these was about the recovery of the tithes and church lands: He resolved to prosecute his father's revocation, and to void all the grants made in his minority, and to create titular Abbots as Lords of Parliaments, but Lords, as Bishops, only for life. And that the two great families of *Hamilton* and *Lenox* might be good examples to the rest of the nation, he by a secret purchase, and with *English* money, bought the Abby of *Aberbroth* of the former, and the Lordship of *Glasgow* of the latter, & gave these to the two Archbishopricks. These Lords made a shew of zeal, after a good bargain, and surrendered them to the King. He also purchased several estates of less value to the several Sees; and all men,

He designed to recover the tithes and church lands in *Scotland* to the Crown

who pretended to favour at Court, offered their church lands to sale at a low rate.

IN the third year of his reign the Earl of *Nithisdale*, then believed a Papist, which he afterwards professed, having married a niece of the Duke of *Buckingham*, was sent down with a power to take the surrender of all church lands, and to assure all who did readily surrender, that the King would take it kindly, and use them all very well; but that he would proceed with all rigour against those who would not submit their rights to his disposal. Upon his coming down, those who were most concerned in such grants met at *Edinburgh*, and agreed, that when they were called together, if no other argument did prevail to make the Earl of *Nithisdale* desist, they would fall upon him and all his party in the old *Scotish* manner, and knock them on the head. *Primrose* told me one of these Lords, *Belhaven* of the name of *Dowglass* who was blind, bid them set him by one of the party, and he would make sure of one. So he was set next the Earl of *Dumfries*: He was all the while holding him fast: And when the other asked him what he meant by that, he said, ever since the blindness was come on him, he was in such fear of falling, that he could not help the holding fast to those who were next to him. He had all the while a ponyard in his other hand, with which he had certainly stabbed *Dumfries*, if any disorder had happen'd. The appearance at that time was so great, and so much heat was raised upon it, that the Earl of *Nithisdale* would not open all his instructions, but came back to Court, looking on the service as desperate: So a stop was put to it for some time. IN



*before the* RESTORATION. 17

In the year 1633 the King came down in person to be crowned. In some Conventions of the States that had been held before, all the money that the King had asked was given; and some petitions were offered setting forth grievances, which those whom the King employed had assured them should be redressed: But nothing was done, & all was put off till the King should come down in person. His entry and coronation were managed with such magnificence, that the country suffered much by it: All was entertainment and shew. When the Parliament sat, the Lords of the Articles prepared an act declaring the royal prerogative, as it had been asserted by law in the year 1606; to which an addition was made of another act pass'd in the year 1609, by which King James was empower'd to prescribe apparel to Churchmen with their own consent. This was a personal thing to King James, in consideration of his great learning & experience, but he made no use of that power during the rest of his reign. And in the year 1617, when he held a Parliament there in person, an act was prepared by the Lords of the Articles, authorizing all things that should thereafter be determined in ecclesiastical affairs by his Majesty, with consent of a competent number of the Clergy, to have the strength and power of a law. But the King either apprehended that great opposition would be made to the passing the act, or that great trouble would follow on the execution of it: So when the rubrick of the act was read, he ordered it to be suppress'd, tho' pass'd in the articles. In this act of 1633 these acts of 1606 and 1609 were drawn

He  
was  
crown-  
ed in  
Scot-  
land.

28 *A SUMMARY of Affairs*

drawn into one. To this great opposition was made by the Earl of *Rothes*, who desired the acts might be divided: But the King said, it was now one act, and he must either vote for it, or against it. He said, he was for the prerogative as much as any man, but that addition was contrary to the liberties of the Church, and he thought no determination ought to be made in such matters without the consent of the Clergy, at least without their being heard. The King bid him argue no more, but give his vote: So he voted, not content. Some few Lords offered to argue: but the King stopt them, and commanded them to vote. Almost the whole Commons voted in the negative: So that the act was indeed rejected by the majority: Which the King knew; for he had called for a list of the members, and with his own pen had mark'd every man's vote: Yet the Clerk of Register, who gathers and declares the votes, said it was carried in the affirmative. The Earl of *Rothes* affirmed it went for the negative: But the King said, the Clerk of Register's declaration must be held good, unless the Earl of *Rothes* would go to the Barr and accuse him of falsifying the record of Parliament, which was capital: And in that case, if he should fail in the proof he was liable to the same punishment: So he would not venture on that. Thus the act was published, tho' in truth it was rejected. The King expressed a high displeasure at all who had concurred in that opposition. Upon that the Lords had many meetings: They reckoned that now all their liberties were gone, and a Parliament was but a piece of pageantry, if the Clerk of Register might

de

declare as he pleased how the vote went, and that no scrutiny were allowed. Upon that, *Hague* the King's solicitor, a zealous man of that party, drew a petition to be signed by the Lords, and to be offered by them to the King, setting forth all their grievances and praying redress. He shewed this to some of them, and among others to the Lord *Balmerinock*, who liked the main of it, but was for altering it in some particulars. He spoke of it to the Earl of *Rothes* in the presence of the Earl of *Cassilis* and some others: None of them approved of it. The Earl of *Rothes* carried it to the King, and told him, that there was a design to offer a petition in order to the explaining and justifying their proceedings, and that he had a copy to shew him: But the King would not look upon it, and ordered him to put a stop to it, for he would receive no such petition. The Earl of *Rothes* told this to *Balmerinock*: So the thing was laid aside: Only he kept a copy of it, and interlined it in some places with his own hand. While the King was in *Scotland* he erected a new Bishoprick at *Edinburgh*, and made one *Forbes* Bishop, who was a very learned and pious man: He had a strange faculty of preaching five or six hours at a time. His way of life and devotion was thought monastick, and his learning lay in antiquity. He studied to be a reconciler between Papists & Protestants, leaning rather to the first, as appears by his *Considerationes modestæ*. He was a very simple man, & knew little of the world: So he fell into several errors in conduct, but died soon after suspected of Popery; which suspicion was encreased by his son's turning Papist. The King left *Scotland* much

*Balmerinock's Tryal*



much discontented, but resolved to prosecute the design of recovering the church lands: And Sir *Thomas Hope*, a subtil lawyer, who was believed to understand that matter beyond all the men of his profession, tho' in all respects he was a zealous Puritan, was made the King's Advocate, upon his undertaking to bring all the church lands back to the Crown: Yet he proceeded in the matter so slowly, that it was believed he acted in concert with the party that opposed it. Enough was already done to alarm all that were possessed of the church lands: And they to engage the whole country in their quarrel took care to infuse it into all people, but chiefly into the preachers, that all was done to make way for Popery. The winter after the King was in *Scotland*, *Balmerinoch* was thinking how to make the petition more acceptable; and in order to that he shewed it to one *Dunmoor* a lawyer in whom he trusted, and desired his opinion of it, and suffered him to carry it home with him, but charged him to shew it to no person, and to take no copy of it. He shewed it under a promise of secrecy to one *Hay* of *Naughton*, and told him from whom he had it. *Hay* looking on the paper, and seeing it a matter of some consequence, carried it to *Spotswood* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*; who apprehending it was going about for hands was alarmed at it, and went immediately to *London*, beginning his journey as he often did on a Sunday, which was a very odious thing in that country. There are laws in *Scotland* loosely worded that make it capital to spread lies of the King or his Government, or to alienate his subjects from him. It was also made capital to know

of

of any that do it, and not discover them: But this last was never once put in execution. The petition was thought within this act: So an order was sent down for committing Lord *Balmerinock*. The reason of it being for some time kept secret, it was thought done because of his vote in Parliament. But after some consultation a special commission was sent down for the trial. In *Scotland* there is a Court for the trial of Peers, distinct from the Jury who are to be fifteen, and the majority determine the verdict: The fact being only referred to the jury or assize as they call it, the law is judged by the Court: And if the majority of the Jury are Peers, the rest may be Gentlemen. At this time a private Gentleman of the name of *Steward* was become so considerable that he was raised by several degrees to be made Earl of *Traquair* and Lord Treasurer, and was in great favour; but suffered afterwards such a reverse of fortune, that I saw him so low that he wanted bread, and was forced to beg; and it was believed he died of hunger. He was a man of great parts, but of too much craft: He was thought the capablest man for business, & the best speaker in that Kingdom. So he was charged with the care of the Lord *Balmerinock's* trial: But when the ground of the prosecution was known; *Hague* who drew the petition writ a letter to the Lord *Balmerinock*, in which he owned that he drew the petition without any direction or assistance from him: And upon that he went over to *Holland*. The Court was created by a special commission: In the naming of Judges there appeared too visibly a design to have that Lord's life, for they were either very weak or

or very poor. Much pains was taken to have a Jury; in which so great partiality appeared, that when the Lord *Balmerinock* was upon his challenges, and excepted to the Earl of *Dumfries* for his having said that if he were of his jury tho' he were as innocent as *St. Paul* he would find him guilty, some of the Judges said, that was only a rash word: Yet the King's Advocate allowed the challenge if proved, which was done. The next called on was the Earl of *Lauderdale*, father to the Duke of that title: With him the Lord *Balmerinock* had been long in enmity: Yet instead of challenging him, he said he was *omni exceptione major*. It was long considered upon what the prisoner should be tried: For his hand interlining the paper, which did plainly soften it, was not thought evidence that he drew it, or that he was accessary to it: And they had no other proof against him: Nor could they from that infer that he was the divulger, since it did appear it was only shewed by him to a Lawyer for counsel. So it was settled on to insist on this, that the paper tended to alienate the subjects from their duty to the King, and that he, knowing who was the author of it, did not discover him, which by law was capital. The Court judged the paper to be seditious, and to be a lie of the King and his government: The other point was clear, that he knowing the author did not discover him. He pleaded for himself, that the statute for discovery had never been put in execution; that it could never be meant but of matters that were notoriously seditious; that till the Court judged so, he did not take this paper to be of that nature, but considered



considered it as a paper full of duty, designed to set himself and some others right in the King's opinion; that upon the first sight of it, tho' he approved of the main, yet he disliked some expressions in it; that he communicated the matter to the Earl of *Rothes*, who told the King of the design; and that, upon the King's saying he would receive no such petition, it was quite laid aside: This was attested by the Earl of *Rothes*. A long debate had been much insisted on, whether the Earl of *Traquair*, or the King's Ministers might be of the jury or not: But the Court gave it in their favour. When the jury was shut up, *Gordon of Bucky*, who was one of them, being then very antient, who forty three years before had assisted in the murder of the Earl of *Murray*, and was thought upon this occasion a sure man, spoke first of all, excusing his presumption in being the first that broke the silence. He desired, they would all consider what they were about: It was a matter of blood, and they would feel the weight of that as long as they lived: He had in his youth been drawn in to shed blood, for which he had the King's pardon, but it cost him more to obtain God's pardon: It had given him many sorrowful hours both day and night: And as he spoke this, the tears ran over his face. This struck a damp on them all. But the Earl of *Traquair* took up the argument; and said, they had it not before them whether the law was a hard law or not, nor had they the nature of the paper before them, which was judged by the Court to be leasing-making; they were only to consider, whether the prisoner had discovered the contriver of the

C

paper

paper or not. Upon this the Earl of *Lauderdale* took up the argument against him; and urged, that severe laws never executed were looked on as made only to terrify people; that tho' after the Court's having judged the paper to be seditious it would be capital to conceal the author, yet before such judgment the thing could not be thought so evident that he was bound to reveal it. Upon these heads those Lords argued the matter many hours: But when it went to the vote, seven acquitted, but eight cast him: So sentence was given. Upon this many meetings were held: And it was resolved either to force the prison to set him at liberty, or if that failed to revenge his death both on the Court and on the eight jurors; some undertaking to kill them, and others to burn their houses. When the Earl of *Traquair* understood this, he went to Court, and told the King that the Lord *Balmerinock's* life was in his hands, but the execution was in no sort adviseable: So he procured his pardon, for which the party was often reproached with his ingratitude: But he thought he had been much wronged in the prosecution, and so little regarded in the pardon, that he never looked on himself as under any obligation on that account. My father knew the whole steps of this matter, having been the Earl of *Lauderdale's* most particular friend: He often told me, that the ruin of the King's affairs in *Scotland* was in a great measure owing to that prosecution; and he carefully preserved the petition it self, and the papers relating to the trial; of which I never saw any copy besides those which I have. And that raised in me a desire of seeing the whole record, which

He  
was  
con-  
dem-  
ned

But  
par-  
doned.

was

was copied for me, and is now in my hands. It is a little volume, and contains, according to the *Scotch* method, the whole abstract of all the pleadings, and all the evidence that was given; and is indeed a very noble piece, full of curious matter.

WHEN the design of recovering the tithes went on, tho' but slowly, another design made a greater progress. The Bishops of *Scotland* fell on the framing of a Liturgy and a body of Canons for the worship and government of that Church.

These were never examined in any publick assembly of the clergy: All was managed by three or four aspiring Bishops, *Maxwell*, *Sidserfe*, *Whitford*, and *Banantine*, the Bishops of *Ross*, *Galloway*, *Dumblane*, and *Aberdeen*. *Maxwell* did also accuse the Earl of *Traquair*, as cold in the King's service, and as managing the Treasury deceitfully; and he was aspiring to that office.

*Spotswood*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews* then Lord Chancellour, was a prudent and mild man, but of no great decency in his course of life. The Earl of *Traquair*, seeing himself so pushed at, was more earnest than the Bishops themselves in promoting the new model of worship and discipline; and by that he recovered the ground he had lost with the King, and with Archbishop *Laud*. He also assisted the Bishops in obtaining commissions, subaltern to the High-Commission Court, in their several dioceses, which were thought little different from the Courts of Inquisition. *Sidserfe* set this up in *Galloway*: And a complaint being made in Council of his proceedings, he gave the Earl of *Argile* the lie in full Council. He was after all a very learned and good man, but strangely heated in those matters. And they all

A liturgy prepared.



were so lifted up with the King's zeal, and so encouraged by Archbishop *Land*, that they lost all temper; of which I knew *Sidserfe* made great acknowledgments in his old age

The  
fee-  
ble-  
ness of  
the go-  
vern-  
ment

BUT the unaccountable part of the King's proceedings was, that all this while, when he was endeavouring to recover so great a part of the property of *Scotland*, as the church lands and tithes were, from men that were not like to part with them willingly, and was going to change the whole constitution of that Church and Kingdom, he raised no force to maintain what he was about to do: but trusted the whole management to the civil execution. By this all people saw the weakness of the government, at the same time that they complained of its rigour. All that came down from Court complained of the King's inexorable stiffness, and of the progress Popery was making, of the Queen's power with the King, of the favour shewed the Popes *Nuntios*, and of the many proselytes who were daily falling off to the Church of *Rome*. The Earl of *Traquair* infused this more effectually, tho' more covertly, than any other man could do: And when the country formed the first opposition they made to the King's proclamations, & protested against them, he drew the first protestation, as *Primrose* assured me; tho' he designed no more than to put a stop to the credit the Bishops had, and to the fury of their proceedings. But the matter went much farther than he seemed to intend: For he himself was fatally caught in the snare laid for others. A troop of horse and a regiment of foot had prevented all that followed; or rather had by all appearance established an arbitrary government in that Kingdom:

dom: But to speak in the language of a great man, those who conducted matters at that time had as little of the prudence of the serpent as of the innocence of the dove: And, as my father often told me, he and many others who adhered in the sequel firmly to the King's interest were then much troubled at the whole conduct of affairs, as being neither wise, legal, nor just. I will go no farther in opening the beginnings of the troubles of *Scotland*: Of these a full account will be found in the Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*. The violence with which that Kingdom did almost unanimously engage against the administration, may easily convince one, that the provocation must have been very great to draw on such an entire and vehement concurrence against it.

AFTER the first pacification, upon the new disputes that arose, when the Earl of *Lowdun* and *Dumfermling* were sent up with the petition from the Covenanters, the Lord *Saville* came to them, and informed them of many particulars, by which they saw the King was highly irritated against them. He took great pains to persuade them to come with their army into *England*. They very unwillingly hearken'd to that proposition, and looked on it as a design from the Court to ensnare them, making the *Scots* invade *England*, by which this Nation might have been provoked to assist the King to conquer *Scotland*. It is true, he hated the Earl of *Strafford* so much, that they saw no cause to suspect him: So they entered into a treaty with him about it. The Lord *Saville* assured them, he spake to them in the name of the most considerable men in *England*;

*Saville's*  
forge-  
ry pre-  
vailed  
on the  
*Scots*.

and he shewed them an engagement under their hands to join with them, if they would come into *England*, and refuse any treaty but what should be confirmed by a Parliament of *England*. They desired leave to send this paper into *Scotland*, to which after much seeming difficulty he consented: So a cane was hollowed, and this was put within it; and one *Frost*, afterwards Secretary to the Committee of both Kingdoms, was sent down with it as a poor traveller. It was to be communicated only to three persons, the Earls of *Rothes* & *Argile*, and to *Waristoun*, the three chief confidents of the Covenanters. The Earl of *Rothes* was a man of pleasure, but of a most obliging temper: His affairs were low: *Spotswood* had once made the bargain between the King and him before the troubles, but the Earl of *Traquair* broke it, seeing he was to be raised above himself. The Earl of *Rothes* had all the arts of making himself popular; only there was too much levity in his temper, and too much liberty in his course of life. The Earl of *Argile* was a more solemn sort of a man, grave and sober, free of all scandalous vices, of an invincible calmness of temper, and a pretender to high degrees of piety: He was much set on raising his own family to be a sort of King in the Highlands.

*WARISTOUN* was my own uncle: He was a man of great application, could seldom sleep above three hours in the twenty four: He had studied the law carefully, and had a great quickness of thought with an extraordinary memory. He went into very high notions of lengthen'd devotions, in which he continued many hours

The  
cha-  
racters  
of the  
chief  
of the  
cove-  
nan-  
ters.



before the RESTORATION. 39

hours a day: He would often pray in his family two hours at a time, and had an unexhausted copiousness that way. What thought soever struck his fancy during those effusions, he looked on it as an answer of prayer, and was wholly determined by it. He looked on the Covenant as the setting Christ on his throne, and so was out of measure zealous in it. He had no regard to the raising himself or his family, tho' he had thirteen children: But Presbytery was to him more than all the world. He had a readiness and vehemence of speaking that made him very considerable in publick assemblies: And he had a fruitful invention; so that he was at all times furnished with expedients. To these three only this paper was to be shewed upon an oath of secrecy: And it was to be deposited in *Waristoun's* hands: They were only allowed to publish to the Nation, that they were sure of a very great and unexpected assistance, which tho' it was to be kept secret would appear in due time. This they published: And it was looked on as an artifice to draw in the Nation: But it was afterwards found to be a cheat indeed, but a cheat of Lord *Saville's* who had forged all those subscriptions.

THE Scots marched with a very sorry equipage: Every souldier carried a week's provision of oatmeal; and they had a drove of cattel with them for their food. They had also an invention of guns of white iron tinned and done about with leather, and corded so that they could serve for two or three discharges. These were light, and were carried on horses: And when they came to *Newburn*, the *English* army

The  
Scots  
come  
into  
Eng-  
land.

that defended the *ford*, was surprized with a discharge of artillery: Some thought it magick; and all were put in such disorder that the whole army did run with so great precipitation, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who had a command in it, did not stick to own that till he pass'd the *Tees* his legs trembled under him. This struck many of the enthusiasts of the King's side, as much as it exalted the *Scots*; who were next day possessed of *Newcastle*, and so were masters not only of *Northumberland* and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, but of the coalries, by which, if they had not been in a good understanding with the City of *London*, they could have distressed them extremely. But all the use the City made of this was, to raise a great outcry, and to complain of the war, since it was now in the power of the *Scots* to starve them. Upon that petitions were sent from the City and from some Counties to the King, praying a treaty with the *Scots*. The Lord *Wharton* and the Lord *Howard* of *Esrick* undertook to deliver some of these; which they did, and were clapt up upon it. A council of War was held; and it was resolved on, as the Lord *Wharton* told me, to shoot them at the head of the army, as movers of sedition. This was chiefly press'd by the Earl of *Strafford*. Duke *Hamilton* spoke nothing till the Council rose; and then he asked *Strafford*, if he was sure of the Army, who seemed surprized at the question: But he upon enquiry understood that very probably a general mutiny, if not a total revolt, would have followed, if any such execution had been attempted. This success of the *Scots* ruined the King's affairs, And by it the necessity of the union

Great  
dis-  
con-  
tents  
in Eng-  
land.

union of the two Kingdoms may appear very evident: For nothing but a superiour army able to beat the *Scots* can hinder their doing this at any time: And the seising the coalries must immediately bring the City of *London* into great distress. Two armies were now in the north as a load on the King, besides all the other grievances. The Lord *Saville's* forgery came to be discovered. The King knew it; and yet he was brought afterwards to trust him, and to advance him to be Earl of *Suffex*. The King pressed my uncle to deliver him the letter, who excused himself upon his oath; and not knowing what use might be made of it, he cut out every subscription, and sent it to the person for whom it was forged. The imitation was so exact, that every man, as soon as he saw his hand simply by itself, acknowledged that he could not have denied it.

THE King was now in great straits: He had laid up 700000 l. before the troubles in *Scotland* began; and yet had raised no guards nor force in *England*, but trusted a very illegal administration to a legal execution. His treasure was now exhausted; his subjects were highly irritated; the Ministry were all frightened, being exposed to the anger and justice of the Parliament: So that he had brought himself into great distress, but had not the dexterity to extricate himself out of it. He loved high and rough methods, but had neither the skill to conduct them, nor the height of genius to manage them. He hated all that offered prudent and moderate counsels: He thought it flowed from a meanness of spirit, and a care to preserve themselves

The ill state of the King's affairs.



42 SUMMARY of Affairs

by sacrificing his authority, or from republican principles: and even when he saw it was necessary to follow such advices, yet he hated those that gave them. His heart was wholly turned to the gaining the two armies. In order to that he gained the Earl of *Rothes* entirely, who hoped by the King's mediation to have married the Countess of *Devonshire*, a rich and magnificent lady that lived long in the greatest state of any in that age: He also gained the Earl of *Montrose*, who was a young man well learned, who had travelled, but had taken upon him the port of a Hero too much. When he was beyond sea he travelled with the Earl of *Denbigh*; and they consulted all the Astrologers they could hear of. I plainly saw the Earl of *Denbigh* relied on what had been told him to his dying day; and the rather because the Earl of *Montrose* was promised a glorious fortune for some time, but all was to be overthrown in conclusion. When the Earl of *Montrose* returned from his travels, he was not considered by the King as he thought he deserved: So he studied to render himself popular in *Scotland*; and he was the first man in the opposition they made during the first War. He both advised and drew the letter to the King of *France*, for which the Lord *Lowdun* who signed it was imprisoned in the Tower of *London*. But the Earl of *Lauderdale*, as he himself told me, when it came to his turn to sign that letter, found false *French* in it; for instead of *rayons de soleil* he had writ *raye de soleil*, which in *French* signifies a sort of fish; & so the matter went no farther at that time; and

the treaty came on so soon after, that it was never again taken up. The Earl of *Montrose* was gained by the King at *Berwick*, and undertook to do great services. He either fancied, or at least he made the King fancy, that he could turn the whole Kingdom: Yet indeed he could do nothing. He was again trying to make a new party: And he kept a correspondence with the King when he lay at *Newcastle*; and was pretending he had a great interest among the Covenanters, whereas at that time he had none at all. All these little plottings came to be either known, or at least suspected. The Queen was a woman of great vivacity in conversation, and loved all her life long to be in intrigues of all sorts, but was not so secret in them as such times and such affairs required. She was a woman of no manner of judgment: She was bad at contrivance, but much worse in the execution: But by the liveliness of her discourse she made always a great impression on the King: And to her little practices, as well as to the King's own temper, the sequel of all his misfortunes was owing. I know it was a maxim infused into his sons, which I have often heard from King *James*, that he was undone by his concessions. This is true in some respect: For his passing the act that the Parliament should sit during pleasure was indeed his ruin, to which he was drawn by the Queen. But if he had not made great concessions, he had sunk without being able to make a struggle for it; and could not have divided the Nation, or engaged so many to have stood by him: Since by the concessions that he made, especially that of the triennial

riennial Parliament, the honest and quiet part of the Nation was satisfied, and thought their religion and liberties were secured: So they broke off from those violenter propositions that occasioned the War.

The truth was, the King did not come into those concessions seasonably, nor with a good grace: All appeared to be extorted from him.

There were also grounds, whether true or plausible, to make it to be believed, that he intended not to stand to them any longer than he lay under that force that visibly drew them from him contrary to his own inclinations. The proofs that appeared of some particulars, that made this seem true, made other things that were whispered to be more readily believed: For in all critical times there are deceitful people of both sides, that pretend to merit by making discoveries, on condition that no use shall be made of them as witnesses; which is one of the most pestiferous ways of calumny possible. Almost the whole Court had been concerned in one illegal grant or another: So these Courtiers, to get their faults pass'd over, were as so many spies upon the King and Queen: They told all they heard, and perhaps not without large additions, to the leading men of the House of Commons. This inflamed the jealousy, and push'd them on to the making still new demands. One eminent passage was told me by the Lord *Hollis*.

THE Earl of *Strafford* had married his sister: So, tho' in the Parliament he was one of the hottest men of the party, yet when that matter was before them he always withdrew. When the bill of attainder was pass'd, the King sent

*Strafford*  
given  
up by  
the  
King.

for



for him to know what he could do to save the Earl of *Strafford*. *Hollis* answered, that if the King pleased, since the execution of the law was in him, he might legally grant him a reprieve, which must be good in law; but he would not advise it. That which he proposed was, that Lord *Strafford* should send him a petition for a short respite, to settle his affairs and to prepare for death; upon which he advised the King to come next day with the petition in his hands, and lay it before the two houses with a speech which he drew for the King; and *Hollis* said to him, he would try his interest among his friends to get them to consent to it. He prepared a great many by assuring them, that if they would save Lord *Strafford* he would become wholly theirs in consequence of his first principles: And that he might do them much more service by being preserved, than he could do if made an example upon such new and doubtful points. In this he had wrought on so many, that he believed if the King's party had struck into it he might have saved him. It was carried to the Queen, as if *Hollis* had engaged that the Earl of *Strafford* should accuse her, and discover all he knew: So the Queen not only diverted the King from going to the Parliament, changing the speech into a message all writ with the King's own hand, and sent to the House of Lords by the Prince of *Wales*: [which *Hollis* had said, would have perhaps done as well, the King being apt to spoil things by an unacceptable manner:] But to the wonder of the whole world, the Queen prevailed with him to add that mean postscript, *if he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday*: Which

was

was a very unhandſome giving up of the whole meſſage. When it was communicated to both houſes, the whole Court party was plainly againſt it: And ſo he fell truly by the Queen's means.

THE mentioning this makes me add one particular concerning Archbiſhop *Laud*. When his impeachment was brought to the Lord's bar, he apprehending how it would end, ſent over *Warner*, Biſhop of *Rochefter*, with the keys of his cloſet and cabinet, that he might deſtroy or put out of the way all papers that might either hurt himſelf or any body elſe. He was at that work for three hours, till upon *Laud*'s being committed to the black rod a meſſenger went over to ſeal up his cloſet, who came after all was withdrawn. Among the writings he took away, it is believed the original *Magna Charta* paſſed by King *John* in the mead near *Stains* was one. This was found among *Warner*'s papers by his executor: And that deſcended to his ſon and executor, Colonel *Lee*, who gave it to me. So it is now in my hands; and it came very fairly to me. For this conveyance of it we have nothing but conjecture.

I do not intend to proſecute the hiſtory of the wars. I have told a great deal relating to them in the Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*. *Ruſhworth*'s collections contain many excellent materials: And now the firſt volume of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s hiſtory gives a faithful representation of the beginnings of the troubles, tho' writ in favour of the Court, and full of the beſt excuſes that ſuch ill things were capable of. I ſhall therefore only ſet out what I had particular reaſon to know; and what is not to be met with in books.

THE

THE Kirk was now settled in Scotland with a new mixture of ruling Elders; which, tho' they were taken from the Geneva pattern to assist or rather to be a check on the Ministers in the managing the parochial discipline, yet these never came to their assemblies till the year 1638, that they thought it necessary to make them first go and carry all the elections of the Ministers at the several Presbyteries, and next come themselves and sit in the Assemblies. The Nobility and chief Gentry offered themselves upon that occasion: And the Ministers, since they saw they were like to act in opposition to the King's orders, were glad to have so great a support. But the Elders that now came to assist them beginning to take, as the Ministers thought, too much on them, they grew weary of such imperious masters: So they studied to work up the inferiour people to much zeal: And as they wrought any up to some measure of heat and knowledge, they brought them also into their eldership; and so got a majority of hot zealots who depended on them. One out of these was deputed to attend on the judicatories. They had Synods of all the Clergy, in one or more Counties who met twice a year: And a General-assembly met once a year: And at parting that body named some, called the Commission of the Kirk, who were to sit in the intervals to prepare matters for the next Assembly, and to look into all the concerns of the Church, to give warning of dangers, and to inspect all proceedings of the State as far as related to the matters of religion: By these means they became terrible to all their enemies. In their sermons, and chiefly in their prayers, all that pass'd in the State

The new mode of the Presbytery in Scotland

ed T  
said  
him  
to  
the  
the



# 48 A SUMMARY of Affairs

State was convassed: Men were as good as named, and either recommended or complained of to God as they were acceptable or odious to them. This grew up in time to an unsufferable degree of boldness. The way that was given to it, when the King and the Bishops were their common themes, made that afterwards the humour could not be restrained: And it grew so petulant, that the pulpit was a scene of news and passion. For some years this was managed with great appearances of fervour by men of age and some authority: But when the younger and hotter zealots took it up, it became odious to almost all sort of people, except some few enthusiasts who thought all their impertinence was zeal and an effect of inspiration; which flowed naturally from the conceit of extemporary prayers being praying by the Spirit.

The  
chief  
Minis-  
ters of  
the  
party.

**HENDERSON**, a Minister of *Edinburgh*, was by much the wisest and gravest of them all: But as all his performances that I have seen are flat and heavy, so he found it was an easier thing to raise a flame than to quench it. He studied to keep his party to him: Yet he found he could not moderate the heat of some fiery Spirits: So when he saw he could follow them no more, but that they had got the people out of his hands, he sunk both in body and mind, and died soon after. The person next to him was *Douglas*, believed to be descended from the Royal family tho' the wrong way: There appeared an air of greatness in him, that made all that saw him inclined enough to believe he was of no ordinary descent. He was a reserved man: He had the scriptures by heart to the exactness of a Jew; for he

he was as a concordance: He was too calm and too grave for the furious men, but yet he was much depended on for his prudence. I knew him in his old age; and saw plainly, he was a slave to his popularity, and durst not own the free thoughts he had of some things for fear of offending the people.

I will not run out in giving the characters of the other leading Preachers among them, such as *Dickson*, *Blair*, *Rutherford*, *Baily*, *Cant*, and the two *Gillespys*. They were men all of a sort: They affected great sublimities in devotion: They poured themselves out in their prayers with a loud voice, and often with many tears. They had but an ordinary proportion of learning among them, some thing of *Hebrew*, and very little *Greek*: Books of controversy with *Papists*, but above all with the *Arminians*, was the height of their study. A way of preaching by doctrine, reason, and use was that they set up on: And some of them affected a strain of stating cases of conscience, not with relation to moral actions, but to some reflexions on their condition and temper: That was occasioned chiefly by their conceit of praying by the spirit, which every one could not attain to, or keep up to the same heat in, at all times. The learning they recommended to their young Divines were some *German* systemes, some commentators on the scripture, books of controversy, and practical books. They were so careful to oblige them to make their round in these, that if they had no men of great learning among them, yet none were very ignorant: As if they had thought an equality in learning was necessary to keep up the parity of

D

their

These  
stu-  
dies,  
and  
other  
me-  
thods

their Governement. None could be suffered to preach as Expectants, (as they called them,) but after a tryal or two in private before the Ministers alone: Then two or three sermons were to be preached in publick, some more learnedly, some more practically: Then a head in Divinity was to be common-placed in *Latin*, and the person was to maintain *Theses* upon it. He was also to be tried in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and in scripture chronology. The questionnaire trial came last, every Minister asking such questions as he pleased. When any had pass'd thro' all these with approbation, which was done in a course of three or four months, he was allowed to preach when invited. And if he was presented or called to a Church, he was to pass thro' a new set of the same tryals. This made that there was a small circle of knowledge in which they were generally well instructed. True morality was little studied or esteemed by them. They took much pains among their people to maintain their authority: They affected all the ways of familiarity that were like to gain on them.

Their  
great  
seve-  
rity.

They forced all people to sign the Covenant. And the greatest part of the Episcopal Clergy, among whom there were two Bishops, came to them, and renounced their former principles, and desired to be received into their body. At first they received all that offered themselves. But afterwards they repented of this: And the violent men among them were ever pressing the purging the Kirk, as they called it, that is the ejecting all the Episcopal Clergy. Then they took up the term of Malignants, by which all

who

who  
the  
gain  
beg  
nels  
ferm  
the  
ever  
som  
as e  
abat  
Thu  
war  
mind  
milit  
set o  
had i  
the u  
hand  
lity i  
the s  
they c  
it, be  
selves  
by th  
in S  
so sec  
ed, f  
woul  
sent t  
and  
castle  
the Pr  
amon  
go am



*before the* RESTORATION. 51

who differed from them were distinguished: But the strictness of piety and good life, which had gained them so much reputation before the war, began to wear off; and instead of that a fierceness of temper, and a copiousness of many long sermons, and much longer prayers, came to be the distinction of the party. This they carried even to the saying grace before and after meat some times to the length of a whole hour. But as every new war broke out, there was a visible abatement of even the outward shews of piety. Thus the war corrupted both sides. When the war broke out in *England*, the *Scots* had a great mind to go into it. The decayed Nobility, the military men, and the Ministers, were violently set on it. They saw what good quarters they had in the north of *England*: And they hoped the umpirage of the war would fall into their hands. The division appearing so near an equality in *England*, they reckoned they would turn the scales, and so be courted of both sides: And they did not doubt to draw great advantages from it, both for the Nation in general, and themselves in particular. Duke *Hamilton* was trusted by the King with the management of his affairs in *Scotland*; and had powers to offer, but so secretly that if discovered it could not be proved, for fear of disgusting the *English*, that if they would engage on the King's side he would consent to the uniting *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Westmorland*, to *Scotland*; and that *Newcastle* should be the seat of the Government; that the Prince of *Wales* should hold his Court always among them; that every third year the King should go among them; and every office in the King's

Condi-  
tions  
offered  
to the  
*Scots*.

household should in the third turn be given to a *Scotchman*. This I found not among Duke *Hamilton's* papers ; but the Earl of *Lauderdale* assured me of it, and that at the Isle of *Wight* they had all the engagements from the King that he could give. Duke *Hamilton* quickly saw, it was a vain imagination to hope that Kingdom could be brought to espouse the King's quarrel. The inclination ran strong the other way. All he hoped to succeed in was to keep them neuter for some time: And this he saw could not hold long: So after he had kept off their engaging with *England* all the year 1643, he and his friends saw it was in vain to struggle any longer. The course they all resolved on was, that the Nobility should fall in heartily with the inclinations of the Nation to join with *England*, that so they might procure to themselves & their friends the chief commands in the army: And then, when they were in *England*, and that their army was as a distinct body separated from the rest of the Kingdom, it might be much easier to gain them to the King's service than it was at that time to work on the whole Nation.

*Montrose's*  
under-  
tak-  
ings.

THIS was not a very sincere way of proceeding: But it was intended for the King's service, and would probably have had the effect designed by it, if some accidents had not happened that changed the face of affairs, which are not rightly understood: And therefore I will open them clearly. The Earl of *Montrose* and a party of high Royalists were for entering into an open breach with the country in the beginning of the year 1643; but offered no probable methods of maintaining it, nor could they reckon themselves

assured of any considerable party. They were full of undertakings: But when they were pressed to shew what concurrence might be depended on, nothing was offered but from the *Highlanders*: And on this wise men could not rely: So Duke *Hamilton* would not expose the King's affairs by such a desperate way of proceeding. Upon this they went to *Oxford*, and filled all people there with complaints of the treachery of the *Hamiltons*; and they pretended they could have secured *Scotland*, if their propositions had been entertained. This was but too suitable to the King's own inclinations, and to the humour that was then prevailing at *Oxford*. So when the two *Hamiltons* came up, they were not admitted to speak to the King: And it was believed, if the younger brother had not made his escape, that both would have suffered; for when the Queen heard of his escape, she with great commotion said, *Abercorn* has missed a Dukedom, for that Earl was a Papist, and next to the two brothers. They could have demonstrated, if heard, that they were sure of above two parts in three of the Officers of the army; and did not doubt to have engaged the army in the King's cause. But the failing in this was not all. The Earl, then made Marquis of *Montrose*, had powers given him such as he desired, & was sent down with them: But he could do nothing till the end of the year. A great body of the *Macdonalds* commanded by one Col. *Killoch* came over from *Ireland* to recover *Kentire*, the best country of all the *Highlands*, out of which they had been driven by the *Argile* family, who had possessed their country about fifty years. The



## 54 A SUMMARY of Affairs

head of these was the Earl of *Antrim*, who had married the Duke of *Buckingham's* widow: And being a Papist, and having a great command in *Ulster*, was much relied on by the Queen. He was the main person in the first rebellion, and was the most engaged in blood-shed of any in the north: Yet he continued to correspond with the Queen to the great prejudice of the King's affairs. When the Marquis of *Montrose* heard they were in *Argilesbire*, he went to them, and told them, if they would let him lead them he would carry them into the heart of the Kingdom, and procure them better quarters and good pay: So he led them into *Pertbshire*. The *Scots* had at that time an army in *England*, and another in *Ireland*: Yet they did not think it necessary to call home any part of either, but despising the *Irish*, and the *Highlanders*, they raised a tumultuary army, and put it under the command of some Lords noted for want of courage, and of others who wished well to the other side. The Marquis of *Montrose's* men were desperate, and met with little resistance: So that small body of the Covenanters army was routed. And here the Marquis of *Montrose* got horses and ammunition, having but three horses before, and powder only for one charge. Then he became considerable: And he marched through the northern parts by *Aberdeen*. The Marquis of *Huntly* was in the King's interests; but would not join with him, tho' his sons did. Astrology ruined him: He believed the stars, and they deceived him: He said often, that neither the King, nor the *Hamiltons*, nor *Montrose* would prosper: He believed he should outlive them all, and escape

at

before the RESTORATION. 55

at last; as it happened in conclusion, as to out-living the others. He was naturally a gallant man: But the stars had so subdued him, that he made a poor figure during the whole course of the wars.

The Marquis of *Montrose's* success was very mischievous, and proved the ruin of the King's affairs: On which I should not have depended entirely, if I had had this only from the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who was indeed my first author: But it was fully confirmed to me by the Lord *Hollis*, who had gone in with great heat into the beginnings of the war: But he soon saw the ill consequences it already had, and the worse that were like to grow with the progress of it. He had in the beginning of the year forty three, when he was sent to *Oxford* with the propositions, taken great pains on all about the King to convince them of the necessity of their yielding in time; since the longer they stood out the conditions would be harder. And when he was sent by the Parliament in the end of the year forty four, with other propositions, he and *Whitlock* entered into secret conferences with the King, of which some account is given by *Whitlock* in his Memoirs. They with other commissioners that were sent to *Oxford* possessed the King, and all that were in great credit with him, with this, that it was absolutely necessary the King should put an end to the war by a treaty: A new party of hot men was springing up, that were plainly for changing the Government: They were growing much in the army, but were yet far from carrying any thing in the House: They had gained much strength this summer: And they might make

Good  
ad-  
vices  
given  
to the  
King.

56 A SUMMARY of Affairs

a great progress by the accidents that another year might produce. They confessed there were many things hard to be digested, that must be done in order to a peace. They asked things that were unreasonable: But they were forced to consent to those demands: Otherwise they would have lost their credit with the City and the people, who could not be satisfied without a very entire security, and a full satisfaction: But the extremity to which matters might be carried otherwise made it necessary to come to a peace on any terms whatsoever; since no terms could be so bad as the continuance of the war: The King must trust them, tho' they were not at that time disposed to trust him so much as it were to be wished. They said farther, that if a peace should follow, it would be a much easier thing to get any hard laws, now moved for, to be repealed, than it was now to hinder their being insisted on. With these things *Hollis* told me that the King and many of his Counsellours, who saw how his affairs declined, and with what difficulty they could hope to continue the war another year, were satisfied. The King more particularly began to feel the insolence of the military men, and of those who were daily reproaching him with their services; so that they were become as uneasy to him as those of *Westminster* had been formerly. But some came in the interval from Lord *Montrose* with such an account of what he had done, of the strength he had, and of his hopes next summer, that the King was by that prevailed on to believe his affairs would mend, and that he might afterwards treat on better terms. This unhappily wrought so far, that

But  
not  
followed

the



before the RESTORATION. 57

the limitations he put on those he sent to treat at *Uxbridge* made the whole design miscarry. That raised the spirits of those that were already but too much exasperated. The Marquis of *Montrose* made a great progress the next year: But he laid no lasting foundation, for he did not make himself master of the strong places or passes of the Kingdom. After his last and greatest victory at *Kilsyth* he was lifted up out of measure. The *Macdonalds* were every where fierce masters, and ravenous plunderers: And the other *Highlanders*, who did not such military executions, yet were good at robbing: And when they had got as much as they could carry home on their backs, they deserted. The *Macdonalds* also left him to go and execute their revenge on the *Argile's* country. The Marquis of *Montrose* thought he was now master, but had no scheme how to fix his conquests: He wasted the estates of his enemies, chiefly the *Hamiltons*; and went towards the borders of *England*, tho' he had but a small force left about him: But he thought his name carried terroure with it. So he writ to the King that he had gone over the land from *Dan* to *Beersheba*: He prayed the King to come down in these words, *come thou, and take the City, lest I take it, and it be called by my name.* This letter was writ, but never sent; for he was routed, and his papers taken, before he had dispatched the courier. Among his papers, many letters of the King, and of others at *Oxford*, were found, as the Earl of *Crawford*, one appointed to read them, told me; which increased the disgusts: But these were not published. Upon this occasion many

## 58 A SUMMARY of Affairs

prisoners that had quarters given them were murdered in cold blood: And as they sent them to some towns that had been ill used by Lord *Montrose's* army, the people in revenge fell on them and knock'd them on the head. Several persons of quality were condemned for being with them: And they were proceeded against both with severity and with indignities. The Preachers thundred in their pulpits against all that did the work of the Lord deceitfully; and cried out against all that were for moderate proceedings, as guilty of the blood that had been shed. *Thine eye shall not pity, and thou shalt not spare,* were often inculcated after every execution. They triumphed with so little decency, that it gave all people very ill impressions of them. But this was not the worst effect of Lord *Montrose's* expedition. It lost the opportunity at *Uxbridge*: It alienated the *Scots* much from the King: It exalted all that were enemies to peace. Now they seemed to have some colour for all those aspersions they had cast on the King, as if he had been in a correspondence with the *Irish* rebels, when the worst tribe of them had been thus employed by him. His affairs declined totally in *England* that summer: And Lord *Hollis* said to me, all was owing to Lord *Montrose's* unhappy successes.

*Antrim's*  
cor-  
res-  
pon-  
dence  
with  
the  
King  
and  
Queen

UPON this occasion I will relate somewhat concerning the Earl of *Antrim*. I had in my hand several of his letters to the King in the year 1646, writ in a very confident style. One was somewhat particular: He in a postscript desired the King to send the inclosed to the good woman, without making any excuse for the presumption;

*before the* RESTORATION. 59

sumption; by which, as follows in the postscript, he meant his wife, the Duchess of *Buckingham*. This made me more easy to believe a story that the Earl of *Essex* told me he had from the Earl of *Northumberland*. Upon the Restoration, in the year 1660, Lord *Antrim* was thought guilty of so much bloodshed, that it was taken for granted he could not be included in the indemnity that was to pass in *Ireland*. Upon this he (Lord *Antrim*) seeing the Duke of *Ormond* set against him, came over to *London*, and was lodged at *Somerset-House*: And it was believed, that having no children he settled his estate on *Jermyn* then Earl of *St. Albans*: But before he came away, he had made a prior settlement in favour of his brother. He petitioned the King to order a Committee of Council to examine the warrants that he had acted upon. The Earl of *Clarendon* was for rejecting the petition, as containing a high indignity to the memory of King *Charles* the first: And said plainly at Council table, that if any person had pretended to affirm such a thing while they were at *Oxford*, he would either have been severely punished for it, or the King would soon have had a very thin Court. But it seemed just to see what he had to say for himself: So a Committee was named, of which the Earl of *Northumberland* was the chief. He produced to them some of the King's letters: But they did not come up to a full proof. In one of them the King wrote, that he had not then leisure, but referred himself to the Queen's letter; and said, that was all one as if he writ himself. Upon this foundation he produced a series of letters writ by himself to the Queen, in which



60 *A SUMMARY of Affairs*

which he gave her an account of every one of these particulars that were laid to his charge, and shewed the grounds he went on, and desired her directions to every one of these: He had answers ordering him to do as he did. This the Queen-mother espoused with great zeal; and said, she was bound in honour to save him. I saw a great deal of that management, for I was then at Court. But it was generally believed, that this train of letters was made up at that time in a collusion between the Queen and him: So a report was prepared to be signed by the Committee, setting forth that he had so fully justified himself in every thing that had been objected to him, that he ought not to be excepted out of the Indemnity. This was brought first to the Earl of *Northumberland* to be signed by him: But he refused it; and said, he was sorry he had produced such warrants, but he did not think they could serve his turn; for he did not believe any warrant from the King or Queen could justify so much bloodshed, in so many black instances as were laid against him. Upon his refusal the rest of the Committee did not think fit to sign the report: So it was let fall: And the King was prevailed on to write to the Duke of *Ormond*, telling him that he had so vindicated himself, that he must endeavour to get him to be included in the Indemnity. That was done; and was no small reproach to the King, that did thus sacrifice his father's honour to his mother's importunity. Upon this the Earl of *Essex* told me, that he had taken all the pains he could to enquire into the original of the *Irish* massacre, but could never see any reason to believe the King

The  
origi-  
nal of  
the  
*Irish*  
massa-  
cre.

before the RESTORATION. 61

King had any accession to it. He did indeed believe that the Queen hearkened to the propositions made by the *Irish*, who undertook to take the Government of *Ireland* into their hands, which they thought they could easily perform: And then, they said, they would assist the King to subdue the hot spirits at *Westminster*. With this the plot of the insurrection began: And all the *Irish* believed the Queen encouraged it. But in the first design there was no thought of a massacre: That came in head as they were laying the methods of executing it: So, as those were managed by the Priests, they were the chief men that set on the *Irish* to all the blood and cruelty that followed.

I know nothing in particular of the sequel of the war, nor of all the confusions that happened till the murder of King *Charles* the first: Only one passage I had from Lieutenant General *Drumond*, afterwards Lord *Strathallan*. He served on the King's side: But he had many friends among those who were for the Covenant: So the King's affairs being now ruined, he was recommended to *Cromwell*, being then in a treaty with the *Spanish* Ambassadour, who was negotiating for some Regiments to be levied and sent over from *Scotland* to *Flanders*. He happened to be with *Cromwell* when the Commissioners sent from *Scotland* to protest against the putting the King to death came to argue the matter with him. *Cromwell* bade *Drumond* stay and hear their conference, which he did. They began in a heavy languid style to lay indeed great loads on the King: But they still insisted on that clause in the Covenant, by which they swore

*Crom-  
well  
argues  
with  
the  
Scots  
about  
the  
Kings  
death.*

swore they would be faithful in the preservation of his Majesty's person. With this they shewed upon what terms *Scotland*, as well as the two Houses, had engaged in the war, and what solemn declarations of their zeal and duty to the King they all along published; which would now appear, to the scandal and reproach of the christian name, to have been false pretences, if when the King was in their power they should proceed to extremities. Upon this *Cromwell* entered into a long discourse of the nature of the regal power; according to the principles of *Mariana* and *Buchanan*: He thought a breach of trust in a King ought to be punished more than any other crime whatsoever. He said as to their Covenant, they swore to the preservation of the King's person in defence of the true Religion: If then it appeared that the settlement of the true Religion was obstructed by the King, so that they could not come at it but by putting him out of the way, then their oath could not bind them to the preserving him any longer. He said also, their Covenant did bind them to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cause, to condign punishment: And was not this to be executed impartially? What were all those on whom publick justice had been done, especially those who suffered for joining with *Montrose*, but small offenders acting by commission from the King, who was therefore the principal, and so the most guilty? *Drummond* said, *Cromwell* had plainly the better of them at their own weapon, and upon their own principles. At this time Presbytery was at its height in *Scotland*.

IN



before the RESTORATION. 63

IN summer 1648, when the Parliament declared they would engage to rescue the King from his imprisonment; and the Parliament of *England* from the force it was put under by the army, the Nobility went into the design, all except six or eight. The King had signed an engagement to make good his offers to the Nation of the northern Counties, with the other conditions formerly mentioned: And particular favours were promised to every one that concurred in it. The Marquis of *Argile* gave it out that the *Hamiltons*, let them pretend what they would, had no sincere intentions to their cause, but had engaged to serve the King on his own terms. He filled the Preachers with such jealousies of this, that tho' all the demands that they made for the security of their cause, and in declaring the grounds of the war, were complied with, yet they could not be satisfied, but still said the *Hamiltons* were in a confederacy with the malignants in *England*, and did not intend to stand to what they promised. The General Assembly declared against it, as an unlawful confederacy with the enemies of God, and called it the Unlawful Engagement, which came to be the name commonly given to it in all their pulpits. They every where preached against it, and opposed the levies all they could by solemn denunciations of the wrath and curse of God on all concerned in them. This was a strange piece of opposition to the State, little inferior to what was pretended to, and put in practice by the Church of *Rome*.

THE south-west counties of *Scotland* have seldom corn enough to serve them round the year

Opposition of the General Assembly to the Parliament

Origin  
of the  
Whiggs

year: And the northern parts producing more than they need, those in the west come in the summer to buy at *Lietb* the stores that come from the north: And from a word *Whiggam*, used in driving their horses, all that drove were called the *Whiggamors*, and shorter the *Whiggs*. Now in that year, after the news came down of Duke *Hamilton's* defeat, the Ministers animated their people to rise, and march to *Edenburgh*: And they came up marching on the head of their parishes, with an unheard-of fury, praying and preaching all the way as they came. The Marquis of *Argile* and his party came and headed them, they being about 6000: This was called the *Whiggamor's* inroad: And ever after that all that opposed the Court came in contempt to be called *Whiggs*: And from *Scotland* the word was brought into *England*, where it is now one of our unhappy terms of distinction.

THE Committee of the Estates, with the force they had in their hands, could easily have dissipated this undisciplin'd herd. But they knowing their own weakness sent to *Cromwell* desiring his assistance. Upon that the Committee saw they could not stand before him: So they came to a treaty, and delivered up the Government to this new body. Upon their assuming it, they declared all who had served or assisted in the Engagement incapable of any employment, till they had first satisfied the Kirk of the truth of their repentance, and made publick professions of it. All Churches were upon that full of mock penitents, some making' their acknowledgments all in tears to gain more credit with the new party. The Earl of *Lowdun*, that was

Chancellor

before the RESTORATION. 65

Chancellour, had entred into solemn promises both to the King and the *Hamiltons*: But when he came to *Scotland*, his wife, a high covenantor, & an heiress, by whom he had both honour and estate, threatned him, if he went on that way, with a process of adultery, in which she could have had very copious proofs. He durst not stand this, and so compounded the matter by the deserting his friends, and turning over to the other side: Of which he made publick profession in the Church of *Edenburgh* with many tears, confessing his weakness in yielding to the temptation of what had a shew of honour and loyalty, for which he expressed a hearty sorrow. Those that came in early with great shews of compunction got easier off: But those who stood out long found it a harder matter to make their peace. *Cromwell* came down to *Scotland*, and saw the new model fully settled.

DURING his absence from the scene, the treaty of the isle of *Wight* was set on foot by the Parliament, who seeing the Army at such a distance took this occasion of treating with the King. Sir *Henry Vane*, and others who were for a change of Government, had no mind to treat any more. But both City and country were so desirous of a personal treaty, that it could not be resisted. *Vane*, *Pierpoint*, and some others went to the treaty on purpose to delay matters till the army could be brought up to *London*. All that wish'd well to the treaty prayed the King at their first coming to dispatch the business with all possible haste, and to grant the first day all that he could bring himself to grant on the last. *Hollis* and *Grimstone* told me, they had both on

E

their

The  
treaty  
in the  
Isle of  
*Wight*.



their knees begged this of the King. They said, they knew *Vane* would study to draw out the treaty to a great length: And he, who declared for an unbounded liberty of conscience, would try to gain on the King's party by the offer of a toleration for the common prayer and the Episcopal Clergy. His design in that was to gain time, till *Cromwell* should settle *Scotland* and the north. But they said, if the King would frankly come in without the formality of papers backward and forward, and send them back next day with the concessions that were absolutely necessary, they did not doubt but he should in a very few days be brought up with honour freedom and safety to the Parliament, and that matters should be brought to a present settlement. *Titus*, who was then much trusted by the King, and employed in a negotiation with the Presbyterian party, told me he had spoke often and earnestly to him in the same strain: But the King could not come to a resolution: And he still fancied, that in the struggle between the House of Commons and the Army, both saw they needed him so much to give them the superior strength, that he imagined by balancing them he would bring both sides into a greater dependence on himself, and force them to better terms. In this *Vane* flattered the Episcopal party, to the King's ruin as well as their own. But they still hated the Presbyterians as the first authors of the war; and seemed unwilling to think well of them, or to be beholding to them. Thus the treaty went on with a fatal slowness: And by the time it was come to some maturity, *Cromwell* came up with his army and overturned all.

UPON

before the RESTORATION. 67

UPON this I will set down what Sir *Har-*  
*bole Grimston* told me a few weeks before his  
death: Whether it was done at this time or the  
year before I cannot tell; I rather believe the  
latter. When the House of Commons and the  
Army were a quarrelling, at a meeting of the  
Officers it was proposed to purge the Army bet-  
ter, that they might know whom to depend on.  
*Cromwell* upon that said, he was sure of the  
Army; but there was another body that had  
more need of purging, naming the House of  
Commons, and he thought the Army only could  
do that. Two Officers that were present brought  
an account of this to *Grimston*, who carried them  
with him to the Lobby of the House of Com-  
mons, they being resolved to justify it to the  
House. There was another debate then on foot;  
But *Grimston* diverted it, and said, he had a  
matter of privilege of the highest sort to lay be-  
fore them: It was about the being and freedom  
of the House. So he charged *Cromwell* with  
the design of putting a force on the House: He  
had his witnesses at the door, and desired they  
might be examined. They were brought to the  
barr, and justified all that they had said to him,  
and gave a full relation of all that had pass'd at  
their meetings. When they withdrew, *Crom-*  
*well* fell down on his knees, and made a solemn  
prayer to God, attesting his innocence, and his  
zeal for the service of the House: He submitted  
himself to the providence of God, who it seems  
thought fit to exercise him with calumny and  
slander, but he committed his cause to him.  
This he did with great vehemence, and with  
many tears. After this strange and bold preamble

*Crom-*  
*well's*  
diffi-  
mula-  
tion.

68 A SUMMARY of Affairs

he made so long a speech, justifying both himself and the rest of the Officers, except a few that seemed inclined to return back to *Egypt*; that he wearied out the House, and wrought so much on his party, that what the witnesses had said was so little believed, that had it been moved *Grimston* thought that both he and they would have been sent to the *Tower*. But whether their guilt made them modest, or that they had no mind to have the matter much talked of, they let it fall: And there was no strength in the other side to carry it farther. To compleat the scene, as soon as ever *Cromwell* got out of the House, he resolved to trust himself no more among them; but went to the Army, and in a few days he brought them up, and forced a great many from the House.

I had much discourse on this head with one who knew *Cromwell* well and all that set of men; and asked him how they could excuse all the prevarications, and other ill things of which they were visibly guilty in the conduct of their affairs. He told me, they believed there were great occasions in which some men were called to great services, in the doing of which they were excused from the common rules of morality: Such were the practices of *Ehud* and *Jael*, *Samson* and *David*. And by this they fancied they had a privilege from observing the standing rules. It is very obvious how far this principle may be carried, and how all justice and mercy may be laid aside on this pretence by every bold enthusiast. *Ludlow* in his Memoirs justifies this force put on the Parliament, as much as he condemns the force that *Cromwell* and the Army afterwards



before the RESTORATION. 69

put on the Horse: And he seems to lay this down for a maxim, that the military power ought always to be subject to the civil: And yet, without any sort of resentment for what he had done, he owns the share he had in the force put on the Parliament at this time. The plain reconciling of this is, that he thought when the Army judged the Parliament was in the wrong they might use violence, but not otherwise: Which gives the Army a superiour authority, and an inspection into the proceedings of the Parliament. This shews how impossible it is to set up a Commonwealth in *England*: For that cannot be brought about but by a military force: And they will ever keep the Parliament in subjection to them, and so keep up their own authority.

I will leave all that relates to the King's trial and death to common Historians, knowing nothing that is particular of that great transaction, which was certainly one of the most amazing scenes in history. *Ireton* was the person that drove it on: For *Cromwell* was all the while in some suspense about it. *Ireton* had the principles and the temper of a *Cassius* in him: He stuck at nothing that might have turned *England* to a Commonwealth: And he found out *Cook* and *Bradshaw*, two bold Lawyers, as proper instruments for managing it. *Fairfax* was much distracted in his mind, and changed purposes often every day. The Presbyterians and the body of the City were much against it, and were every where fasting and praying for the King's preservation. There was not above 8000 of the Army about the town: But these were selected out of the whole Army, as the most

The  
men  
chief-  
ly en-  
gaged  
in the  
taking  
the  
King's  
life.

engaged in enthusiasm: And they were kept at prayer in their way almost day and night, except when they were upon duty: So that they were wrought up to a pitch of fury, that struck a terrour into all people. On the other hand the King's party was without spirit; And, as many of themselves have said to me, they could never believe his death was really intended till it was too late. They thought all was a pageantry to strike a terrour, and to force the King to such concessions as they had a mind to extort from him.

The  
King's  
beha-  
viour.

THE King himself shewed a calm and a composed firmness, which amazed all people; and that so much the more, because it was not natural to him. It was imputed to a very extraordinary measure of supernatural assistance. Bishop *Juxon* did the duty of his function honestly, but with a dry coldness that could not raise the King's thoughts: So that it was owing wholly to somewhat within himself that he went thro' so many indignities with so much true greatness, without disorder or any sort of affectation. Thus he died greater than he had lived; and shewed, that which has been often observed of the whole race of the *Stewards*, that they bore misfortunes better than prosperity. His reign both in peace and war was a continual series of errors: So that it does not appear that he had a true judgment of things. He was out of measure set on following his humour, but unreasonably feeble to those whom he trusted, chiefly to the Queen. He had too high a notion of the regal power, and thought that every opposition to it was rebellion. He minded little things too much, and

was

pt at  
except  
were  
a ter-  
the  
many  
never  
was  
rv to  
such  
from  
com-  
and  
ot na-  
raor-  
ishop  
y, but  
e the  
holly  
thro'  
tness,  
Thus  
ewed,  
whole  
rtunes  
peace  
s: So  
judg-  
et on  
feeble  
queen.  
wer,  
as re-  
h, and  
was







was  
than  
sion  
dle  
whic  
His  
Roc  
for  
him  
Lau  
Gen  
ceiv  
from  
cour  
He  
pres  
Eng  
was  
T  
ver  
the  
fesse  
was  
Upo  
he p  
Cou  
over  
told  
and  
they  
whi  
of h  
com  
of A  
mif

was more concerned in the drawing of a paper than in fighting a battel. He had a firm aversion to Popery, but was much inclined to a middle way between Protestants and Papists, by which he lost the one without gaining the other. His engaging the Duke of *Roban* in the war of *Rochelle*, and then assisting him so poorly, and forsaking him at last, gave an ill character of him to all the Protestants abroad. The Earl of *Lauderdale* told me, the Duke of *Roban* was at *Geneva*, where he himself was, when he received a very long letter or rather a little book from my father, which gave him a copious account of the beginning of the troubles in *Scotland*: He translated it to the Duke of *Roban*, who expressed a vehement indignation at the Court of *England* for their usage of him: Of which this was the account he then gave.

The Duke of *Buckingham* had a secret conversation with the Queen of *France*, of which the Queen-mother was very jealous, and possessed the King with such a sense of it, that he was ordered immediately to leave the Court. Upon his return to *England* under this affront he possessed the King with such a hatred of that Court, that the Queen was ill used on her coming over, and all her servants were sent back. He told him also that the Protestants were so ill used, and so strong, that if he would protect them they would involve that Kingdom in new wars; which he represented as so glorious a beginning of his reign, that the King without weighing the consequence of it sent one to treat with the Duke of *Roban* about it. Great assistance was promised by sea: So a war was resolved on, in which

The  
affair  
of *Rochelle*.



the share that our Court had is well enough known. But the infamous part was, that *Richlieu* got the King of *France* to make his Queen write an obliging letter to the Duke of *Buckingham*, assuring him that, if he would let *Rochelle* fall without assisting it, he should have leave to come over, and should settle the whole matter of the religion according to their edicts. This was a strange proceeding: But *Cardinal Richlieu* could turn that weak King as he pleased. Upon this the Duke made that shameful campaign of the Isle of *Rhe*. But finding next winter that he was not to be suffered to go over into *France*, and that he was abused into a false hope, he resolved to have followed that matter with more vigour, when he was stabbed by *Felton*.

A design of making the Spaniards Neighbours to the Commonwealth

THERE is another story told of the King's conduct during the peaceable part of his reign, which I had from *Halewyn* of *Dort*, who was one of the Judges in the Court of *Holland*, and was the wisest and greatest man I knew among them. He told me, he had it from his father, who being then the chief man of *Dort* was of the States, and had the secret communicated to him. When *Isabella Clara Eugenia* grew old, and began to decline, a great many of her council, apprehending what miseries they would fall under when they should be again in the hands of the *Spaniards*, formed a design of making themselves a free Commonwealth, that, in imitation of the union among the Cantons of *Switzerland* that were of both religions, there should be a perpetual confederacy between them and the States of the seven Provinces. This they com-



communicated to *Henry Frederick* Prince of *Orange*, and to some of the States, who approved of it, but thought it necessary to engage the King of *England* in it. The Prince of *Orange* told the *English* Embassadour, that there was a matter of great consequence that was fit to be laid before the King; but it was of such a nature, and such persons were concerned in it, that it could not be communicated unless the King would be pleased to promise absolute secrecy for the present. This the King did: And then the Prince of *Orange* sent him the whole scheme. The secret was ill kept: Either the King trusted it to some who discovered it, or the paper was stolen from him; for it was sent over to the Court of *Bruxells*. One of the Ministry lost his head for it: And some took the alarm so quickly that they got to *Holland* out of danger. After this the Prince of *Orange* had no commerce with our Court, and often lamented that so great a design was so unhappily lost. He had as ill an opinion of the King's conduct of the war; for when the Queen came over, and brought some of the Generals with her; the Prince said, after he had talked with them, (as the late King told me,) he did not wonder to see the affairs of *England* decline as they did, since he had talked with the King's Generals.

I will not enter farther into the military part: For I remember an advice of Marshall *Scomberg's*, never to meddle in the relation of military matters. He said, some affected to relate those affairs in all the terms of war, in which they committed great errours that exposed them to the scorn of all commanders, who must de-

pise relations that pretend to an exactness when there were blunders in every part of them.

The ill  
effects  
of vi-  
olent  
coun-  
sels.

IN the King's death the ill effect of extreme violent counsels discovered itself. *Ireton* hoped that by this all men concerned in it would become irreconcilable to monarchy, and would act as desperate men, and destroy all that might revenge that blood. But this had a very different effect. Something of the same nature had happened in lower instances before: But they were not the wiser for it. The Earl of *Straford's* death made all his former errors be forgot: It raised his character, and cast a lasting odium on that way of proceeding; whereas he had sunk in his credit by any censure lower than death, and had been little pitied, if not, thought justly punished. The like effect followed upon Archbishop *Laud's* death. He was a learned, a sincere and zealous man, regular in his own life, and humble in his private deportment; but was a hot, indiscreet man, eagerly pursuing some matters that were either very inconsiderable or mischievous, such as setting the communion table by the east walls of Churches, bowing to it, and calling it the Altar, the suppressing the *Walloons* privileges, the breaking of lectures, the encouraging of sports on the Lord's day, with some other things that were of no value: And yet all the zeal and heat of that time was laid out on these. His severity in the Star-chamber and in the High-Commission-Court, but above all his violent and indeed inexcusable injustice in the prosecution of Bishop *Williams*, were such visible blemishes, that nothing but the putting him to death in so unjust a manner could

could have raised his character ; which indeed it did to a degree of setting him up as a pattern, and the establishing all his notions as standards, by which judgments are to be made of men whether they are true to the Church or not. His diary, tho' it was a base thing to publish it, represents him as an abject fawner on the Duke of Buckingham, and as a superstitious regarder of dreams. His defence of himself, writ with so much care when he was in the *Tower*, is a very mean performance. He intended in that to make an appeal to the world. In most particulars he excuses himself by this, that he was but one of many, who either in Council, Star-chamber, or High-Commission voted illegal things. Now tho' this was true, yet a chief Minister, and one in high favour, determines the rest so much, that they are generally little better than machines acted by him. On other occasions he says, the thing was proved but by one witness. Now, how strong soever this defence may be in law, it is of no force in an appeal to the world; for if a thing is true, it is no matter how full or how defective the proof is. The thing that gave me the strongest prejudice against him in that book is, that after he had seen the ill effects of his violent counsels, and had been so long shut up, and so long at leisure to reflect on what had pass'd in the hurry of passion in the exaltation of his prosperity, he does not in any one part of that great work acknowledge his own errors, nor mix in it any wise or pious reflections on the ill usage he met with or the unhappy steps he had made: So that while his enemies did really magnify him  
by



by their inhuman prosecution, his friends *Heylin* and *Wharton* have as much lessened him, the one by writing his life, and the other by publishing his vindication of himself.

The  
ac-  
count  
of  
*Einöv*  
*Bari*  
*day*

BUT the recoiling of cruel counsels on the authors of them never appeared more eminently than in the death of King *Charles* the first, whose serious and christian deportment in it made all his former errors be entirely forgot, and raised a compassionate regard to him, that drew a lasting hatred on the actors, and was the true occasion of the great turn of the nation in the year 1660. This was much heightened by the publishing of his book called *Icon Basilike* which was universally believed to be his own: And that coming out soon after his death had the greatest run in many impressions that any book has had in our age. There was in it a nobleness and justness of thought with a greatness of style, that made it to be look'd on as the best writ book in the *English* language: And the piety of the prayers made all people cry out against the murder of a Prince, who thought so seriously of all his affairs in his secret meditations before God. I was bred up with a high veneration of this book: And I remember that, when I heard how some denied it to be his, I asked the Earl of *Lothian* about it, who both knew the King very well and loved him little: He seemed confident it was his own work; for he said, he had heard him say a great many of those very periods that he found in that book. Being thus confirmed in that persuasion, I was not a little surpris'd, when in the year 1673, in which I had a great share of favour and free

con-

before the RESTORATION. 77

conversation with the then Duke of York, afterwards King James the second, as he suffered me to talk very freely to him about matters of religion, and as I was urging him with somewhat out of his father's book, he told me that book was not of his father's writing, and that the letter to the Prince of Wales was never brought to him. He said, Dr. Gawden writ it. After the restoration he brought the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Southampton both to the King and to himself, who affirmed that they knew it was his writing; and that it was carried down by the Earl of Southampton, and shewed the King during the treaty of Newport, who read it, and approved of it as containing his sense of things. Upon this he told me, that tho' Sheldon and the other Bishops opposed Gawden's promotion because he had taken the Covenant, yet the merits of that service carried it for him notwithstanding the opposition made to it. There has been a great deal of disputing about this book: Some are so zealous for maintaining it to be the King's, that they think a man false to the Church that doubts it to be his: Yet the evidence since that time brought to the contrary has been so strong, that I must leave that under the same uncertainty under which I found it: Only this is certain, that Gawden never writ any thing with that force; his other writings being such, that no man from a likeness of style would think him capable of writing so extraordinary a book as that is.

Upon the King's death the Scots proclaimed his son King, and sent over Sir George Wincam, that married my great aunt, to treat with him while the 2d.

The  
Scots  
treat  
with  
King  
Charles  
the 2d.

while he was in the isle of *Jersey*. The King entred into a negotiation with them, and sent him back with general assurances of consenting to every reasonable proposition that they should send him. He named the *Hague* for the place of treaty, he being to go thither in a few days. So the *Scots* sent over Commissioners, the chief of whom were the Earls of *Cassiles* and *Lothian*; the former of these was my first wife's father, a man of great vertue and of a considerable degree of good understanding: He was so sincere, that he would suffer no man to take his words in any other sense than as he meant them: He adhered firmly to his instructions, but with so much candour, that King *Charles* retained very kind impressions of it to his life's end. The man then in the greatest favour with the King was the Duke of *Buckingham*: He was wholly turned to mirth and pleasure: He had the art of turning persons or things into ridicule beyond any man of the age: He possessed the young King with very ill principles both as to religion and morality, and with a very mean opinion of his father, whose stiffness was with him a frequent subject of raillery. He prevailed with the King to enter into a treaty with the *Scots*, tho' that was vehemently opposed by almost all the rest that were about him, who pressed him to adhere steddily to his father's maxims and example.

Mont-  
rose's  
offers.

WHEN the King came to the *Hague*, *William* Duke of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who had left *Scotland*, entred into a great measure of favour and confidence with him. The Marquis of *Montrose* came likewise to him, and undertook if h<sup>e</sup> would follow his counsels to restore

restor  
Bu  
to e  
ente  
form  
the p  
rise i  
a pa  
pow  
mon  
King  
and  
the l  
Orke  
Scotl  
had u  
one  
land  
to E  
with  
trive  
very  
were  
His  
was  
all th  
the f  
sally  
all fo  
over  
that t  
them  
both  
he co  
Scots (



before the RESTORATION. 79

restore him to his Kingdoms by main force :  
But when the King desired the Prince of *Orange*  
to examine the methods which he proposed, he  
entertained him with a recital of his own per-  
formances and of the credit he was in among  
the people; and said, the whole nation would  
rise if he went over, tho' accompanied only with  
a page. He desired of the King nothing but  
power to act in his name, with a supply in  
money, and a letter recommending him to the  
King of *Denmark* for a ship to carry him over,  
and for such arms as he could spare. With that  
the King gave him the Garter. He got first to  
*Orkney*, and from thence into the Highlands of  
*Scotland*; but could perform nothing of what he  
had undertaken. At last he was betrayed by  
one of those to whom he trusted himself, *Mack-*  
*land of Affin*, and was brought over a prisoner  
to *Edenburgh*. He was carried thro' the streets  
with all the infamy that brutal men could con-  
trive: And in a few days he was hanged on a  
very high gibbet: And his head and quarters  
were set up in divers places of the Kingdom.  
His behaviour under all that barbarous usage  
was as great and firm to the last, looking on  
all that was done to him with a noble scorn, as  
the fury of his enemies was black and univer-  
sally detested. This cruelty raised a horroir in  
all sober people against those who could insult  
over such a man in misfortunes. The triumphs  
that the Preachers made on this occasion rendered  
them odious, and made Lord *Montrose* to be  
both more pitied and lamented, than otherwise  
he could have been. This happened while the  
*Scots Commissioners* were treating with the King  
at

And  
death.

at the *Hague*. The violent party in *Scotland* were for breaking off the treaty upon it, tho' by the date of Lord *Montrose's* commission it appeared to have been granted before the treaty was begun: But it was carried not to recall their Commissioners: Nor could the King on the other hand be prevailed on by his own Court to send them away upon this cruelty to a man who had acted by his commission, and yet was so used. The treaty was quickly concluded: The King was in no condition to struggle with them, but yielded to all their demands, of taking the Covenant, and suffering none to be about him but such as took it. He sailed home to *Scotland* in some *Dutch* men of war with which the Prince of *Orange* furnished him, with all the stock of money and arms that his own credit could raise. That indeed would not have been very great, if the Prince of *Orange* had not joined his to it. The Duke of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Lauderdale* were suffered to go home with him: But soon after his landing an order came to put them from him. The King complained of this: But Duke *Hamilton* at parting told him, he must prepare for things of a harder digestion: He said, at present he could do him no service: The Marquis of *Argile* was then in absolute credit: Therefore he desired that he would study to gain him, and give him no cause of jealousy on his account. This King *Charles* told me himself, as a part of Duke *Hamilton's* character. The Duke of *Buckingham* took all the ways possible to gain Lord *Argile* and the Ministers: Only his dissolute course of life was excessive scandalous; which to their great reproach

before the RESTORATION. 81

proach they connived at, because he advised the King to put himself wholly into their hands. The King wrought himself into as grave a deportment as he could: He heard many prayers and sermons, some of a great length. I remember in one fast day there were six sermons preached without intermission. I was there myself, and not a little weary of so tedious a service. The King was not allowed so much as to walk abroad on Sundays: And if at anytime there had been any gaiety at Court, such as dancing or playing at cards, he was severely reprov'd for it. This was managed with so much rigour, and so little discretion, that it contributed not a little to beget in him an aversion to all sort of strictness in religion. All that had acted on his father's side were ordered to keep at a great distance from him: And because the common people shewed some affection to the King, the crouds that press'd to see him were also kept off from coming about him. Cromwell was not idle: But seeing the Scots were calling home their King, and knowing that from thence he might expect an invasion into *England*, he resolv'd to prevent them, and so march'd into *Scotland* with his Army. The Scots brought together a very good Army: The King was suffer'd to come once to see it, but not to stay in it; for they were afraid he might gain too much upon the souldiers: So he was sent away.

THE Army was indeed one of the best that ever *Scotland* had brought together: But it was ill commanded: For all that had made defection from their cause, or that were thought indifferent as to either side, which they called de-

F

testable

The  
defeat  
at  
Dun-  
bar.



testable neutrality, were put out of commission. The Preachers thought it an Army of Saints, and seemed well assured of success. They drew near *Cromwell*, who being pressed by them retired towards *Dunbar*, where his ships and provisions lay. The *Scots* followed him, and were posted on a hill about a mile from thence, where there was no attacking them. *Cromwell* was then in great distress, and looked on himself as undone. There was no marching towards *Berwick*, the ground was too narrow: Nor could he come back into the country without being separated from his ships, and starving his Army. The least evil seemed to be to kill his horses, and put his Army on board, and sail back to *Newcastle*; which, in the disposition that *England* was in at that time, would have been all their destruction, for it would have occasioned an universal insurrection for the King. They had not above three days forage for their horses. So *Cromwell* called his Officers to a day of seeking the Lord, in their style. He loved to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards. He said, he felt such an enlargement of heart in prayer, and such quiet upon it, that he bade all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. After prayer they walked in the Earl of *Roxburgh's* gardens that lay under the hill; and by prospective glasses they discerned a great motion in the *Scottish* Camp: Upon which *Cromwell* said, God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us. *Lesley* was in the chief command: But he had a Committee of the States to give him his orders, among whom *Waristoun*

was one. These were weary of lying in the fields, and thought that *Lesley* made not haste enough to destroy those Sectarys; for so they came to call them. He told them, by lying there all was sure; but that by engaging in action with gallant and desperate men all might be lost: Yet they still called on him to fall on. Many have thought that all this was treachery done on design to deliver up our Army to *Cromwell*; some laying it upon *Lesley*, and others upon my uncle. I am persuaded there was no treachery in it: Only *Waristoun* was too hot, and *Lesley* was too cold, and yielded too easily to their humours, which he ought not to have done. They were all the night employed in coming down the hill: And in the morning, before they were put in order, *Cromwell* fell upon them. Two regiments stood their ground, and were almost all killed in their ranks: The rest did run in a most shameful manner: So that both their artillery and baggage were lost, and with these a great many prisoners were taken, some thousands in all. *Cromwell* upon this advanced to *Edinburgh*, where he was received without any opposition: And the Castle that might have made a long resistance did capitulate. So all the southern part of *Scotland* came under contribution to *Cromwell*. *Sterlin* was the advanced garrison on the King's side. He himself retired to *St. Johnston*. A Parliament was called that sat for some time at *Sterlin*, and for some time at *St. Johnston*, in which a full indemnity was pass'd, not in the language of a pardon but of an act of approbation: Only all that joined with *Cromwell* were declared traitors. But now the

# 84 A SUMMARY of Affairs

Dis-  
putes  
about  
admit-  
ting of  
all  
per-  
sons to  
serve  
their  
coun-  
try.

way of raising a new Army was to be thought on.

A question had been proposed both to the Committee of States and to the Commissioners of the Kirk, whether in this extremity those who had made defection, or had been hitherto too backward in the work, might not upon the profession of their repentance be received into publick trust, and admitted to serve in the defence of their country. To this answers were distinctly given by two resolutions: The one was, that they ought to be admitted to make profession of their repentance: And the other was, that after such professions made they might be received to defend and serve their country.

Upon this a great division followed in the Kirk: Those who adhered to these resolutions were called the Publick Resolutioners: But against these some of those bodies protested, and they, together with those who adhered to them, were called the Protestors. On the one hand it was said, that every government might call out all that were under its protection to its defence. This seemed founded on the law of nature and of nations. And, if men had been misled, it was a strange cruelty to deny room for repentance. This was contrary to the nature of God and to the Gospel, and was a likely mean to drive them to despair. Therefore after two years time it seemed reasonable to allow them to serve according to their birthright in Parliament, or in other hereditary offices, or in the Army; from all which they had been excluded by an act made in the year 1649, which ranged them in different classes, and was from thence called the act of classes. But the Protestors ob-  
jected



*before the* RESTORATION. 85

jected against all this, that to take in men of known enmity to the cause was a sort of betraying it, because it was the putting it in their power to betray it: that to admit them into a profession of repentance was a profanation, and a mocking of God. It was visible, they were willing to comply with these terms, tho' against their conscience, only to get into the Army: Nor could they expect a blessing from God on an Army so constituted. And as to this particular they had great advantage; for this mock penitence was indeed a matter of great scandal. When those resolutions were pass'd with this protestation, a great many of the five western counties, *Cliddisdale, Rensfrew, Air, Galloway* and *Nithisdale*, met, and formed an association apart, both against the Army of Sectaries, and against this new defection in the Kirk party. They drew a remonstrance against all the proceedings in the treaty with the King, when, as they said, it was visible by the commission he granted to *Montrose* that his heart was not sincere: And they were also against the tendering him the Covenant, when they had reason to believe he took it not with a resolution to maintain it, since his whole deportment and private conversation shewed a secret enmity to the work of God. And, after an invidious enumeration of many particulars, they imputed the shameful defeat at *Dunbar* to their prevaricating in these things; and concluded with a desire, that the King might be excluded from any share in the administration of the Government, and that his cause might be put out of the state of the quarrel with the Army of the Sectaries. This was

Great  
hard-  
ships  
put on  
the  
King.

brought to the Committee of the States at *St Johnstoun*, and was severely inveighed against by *Sir Thomas Nicholson*, the King's Advocate or Attorney general there, who had been till then a zealous man of their party: But he had lately married my sister, and my father had great influence on him. He prevailed so, that the remonstrance was condemned as divisive, factionous, and scandalous: But that the people might not be too much moved with these things, a declaration was prepared to be set out by the King for the satisfying of them. In it there were many hard things. The King owned the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family: He acknowledged the bloodshed in the late wars lay at his father's door: He expressed a deep sense of his own ill education, and the prejudices he had drunk in against the cause of God, of which he was now very sensible: He confessed all the former parts of his life to have been a course of enmity to the work of God: He repented of his commission to *Montrose*, and of every thing he had done that gave offence: And with solemn protestations he affirmed, that he was now sincere in his declaration, and that he would adhere to it to the end of his life, in *Scotland, England, and Ireland*.

The King was very uneasy when this was brought to him. He said, "he could never look his mother in the face if he pass'd it. But when he was told it was necessary for his affairs, he resolved to swallow the pill without farther chewing it. So it was published, but had no good effect; for neither side believed him sincere in it. It was thought a strange imposition,

to make him load his father's memory in such a manner. But, while the King was thus beset with the high and more moderate Kirk parties, the old Cavaliers sent to him, offering that if he would cast himself into their hands they would meet him near *Dundee* with a great body. Upon this the King, growing weary of the sad life he led, made his escape in the night, and came to the place appointed. But it was a vain undertaking; for he was met by a very inconsiderable body at *Glova*, the place of rendezvous. Those at *St. Johnstoun* being troubled at this, sent Col. *Montgomery* after him, who came up and press'd him to return very rudely: So the King came back. But this had a very good effect. The government saw now the danger of using him ill, which might provoke him to desperate courses: After that, he was used as well as that Kingdom in so ill a state was capable of. He saw the necessity of courting the Marquis of *Argile*, and therefore made him great offers: At last he talked of marrying his daughter. Lord *Argile* was cold and backward: He saw the King's heart lay not to him: So he looked on all his offers, but as so many snares. His son, the Lord *Lorn*, was Captain of the Guards: And he made his court more dextrously; for he brought all persons that the King had a mind to speak with at all hours to him, and was in all respects not only faithful but zealous. Yet this was suspected as a collusion between the father and the son. The King was crowned on the first of *January*: And there he again renewed the Covenant: And now all people were admitted to come to him, and to serve in the Army. The



## 88 A SUMMARY of Affairs

two Armies lay peaceably in their winter quarters. But when the summer came on, a body of the *English* pass'd the *Firth*, and landed in *Fife*. So the King, having got up all the forces he had expected, resolved on a march into *England*. *Scotland* could not maintain another year's war. This was a desperate resolution: But there was nothing else to be done.

I will not pursue the relation of the march to *Worcester*, nor the total defeat given the King's Army on the third of *September*, the same day in which *Dunbar* fight had been fought the year before. These things are so well known, as is also the King's escape, that I can add nothing to the common relations that have been over and over made of them. At the same time that *Cromwell* followed the King into *England*, he left *Monk* in *Scotland* with an Army sufficient to reduce the rest of the Kingdom. The town of *Dundee* made a rash and ill considered resistance. It was after a few days siege taken by storm. Much blood was shed, and the town was severely plundered. No other place made any resistance. I remember well of three regiments coming to *Aberdeen*. There was an order and discipline, and a face of gravity and piety among them, that amazed all people. Most of them were Independents and Anabaptists: They were all gifted men, and preached as they were moved. But they never disturbed the publick assemblies in the Churches but once. They came and reproached the Preachers for laying things to their charge that were false. I was then present: The debate grew very fierce: At last they drew their swords: But there was no hurt done: Yet *Crom-*  
well

*Scot-*  
*land*  
*sub-*  
*dued*  
*by*  
*Monk.*

well displaced the Governour for not punishing this.

WHEN the low-countries in *Scotland* were thus reduced, some of the more zealous of the Nobility went to the Highlands in the year 1653. The Earl of *Glencairn*, a grave and sober man, got the tribe of the *Macdonalds* to declare for the King. To these the Lord *Lorn* came with about a thousand men: But the jealousy of the father made the son be suspected. The Marquis of *Argile* had retired into his country when the King marched into *England*, and did not submit to *Monk* till the year 52. Then he received a garrison: But Lord *Lorn* surprised a ship that was sent about with provisions to it, which helped to support their little ill-formed Army. Many Gentlemen came to them: And almost all the good horses of the Kingdom were stolen, and carried up to them. They made a body of about 3000: of which there was about 500 horse. They endured great hardships; for those parts were not fit to entertain men that had been accustomed to live softly. The Earl of *Glencairn* had almost spoiled all: For he took much upon him: And upon some suspicion he ordered Lord *Lorn* to be clapt up, who had notice of it, and prevented it by an escape; Otherwise they had fallen to cut one another's throats, instead of marching to the enemy. The Earl of *Belcarras*, a vertuous and knowing man but somewhat morose in his humour, went also among them. They differed in their counsels; Lord *Glencairn* was for falling into the low-countries: And he began to fancy he should be another *Montrose*. *Belcarras* on the other hand

A  
body  
stood  
out in  
the  
High-  
lands.

was for keeping in their fastnesses: They made a shew of a body for the King, which they were to keep up in some reputation as long as they could, till they could see what assistance the King might be able to procure them from beyond sea of men money and arms; whereas if they went out of those fast grounds, they could not hope to stand before such a veteran and well disciplined army as *Monk* had; and if they met with the least check, their tumultuary body would soon melt away.

Sir  
Robert  
Murray's  
character.

Among others one Sir *Robert Murray*, that had married Lord *Belcarras's* sister, came among them: He had served in *France*, where he had got into such a degree of favour with *Cardinal Richieu*, that few strangers were ever so much considered by him as he was. He was raised to be a Collonel there, and came over for recruits when the King was with the *Scotch* army at *Newcastle*. There he grew into high favour with the King; and laid a design for his escape, of which I have given an account in *Duke Hamilton's* Memoirs. He was the most universally beloved and esteemed by men of all sides and forts, of any man I have ever known in my whole life. He was a pious man, and in the midst of armies and courts he spent many hours a day in devotion. He had gone thro' the easy parts of mathematicks, and knew the history of nature beyond any man I ever yet knew. He had a genius much like *Peiriski*, as he is described by *Gassendi*. He was afterwards the first former of the Royal Society, and its first President; and while he lived he was the life and soul of that body. He had an equality of temper



before the RESTORATION. 91

per in him that nothing could alter; and was in practice the only Stoick I ever knew. He had a great tincture of one of their principles; for he was much for absolute decrees. He had a most diffused love to all mankind, and he delighted in every occasion of doing good, which he managed with great discretion and zeal. He had a superiority of genius and comprehension to most men: And had the plainest, but with all the softest way of reproof, chiefly young people, for their faults that I ever met with. Sir *Robert Murray* was in such credit in that little army, that Lord *Glencairn* took a strange course to break it, and to ruin him. A letter was pretended to be found at *Antwerp*, as writ by him to *William Murray* of the bed-chamber, that had been whipping boy to King *Charles* the first, and upon that had grown up to a degree of favour and confidence that was very particular. He had a leud creature there, whom he turned off: And she to be revenged on him framed this plot against him. This ill forged letter gave an account of a bargain Sir *Robert* had made with *Monk* for killing the King, which was to be executed by Mr. *Murray*: So he prayed him in his letter to make haste and dispatch it. This was brought to the Earl of *Glencairn*: So Sir *Robert* was severely questioned upon it, and put in arrest: And it was spread about thro' a rude army that he intended to kill the King, hoping it seems that some of these wild people believing it would have fallen upon him without using any forms. Upon this occasion Sir *Robert* practised in a very eminent manner his true christian philosophy, without shewing so much

as

as a cloud in his whole behaviour.

THE Earl of *Belcarras* left the Highlands, and went to the King; and shewed him the necessity of sending a military man to command that body, to whom they would submit more willingly than to any of the Nobility. *Middleton* was sent over, who was a gallant man and a good Officer. He had first served on the Parliament's side: But he turned over to the King, and was taken at *Worcester* fight, but made his escape out of the Tower. He upon his coming over did for some time lay the heats that were among the Highlanders; and made as much of that face of an army for another year as was possible.

Mess-  
sages  
sent to  
the  
King.

*DRUMOND* was sent by him to *Paris* with an invitation to the King to come among them; for they had assurances sent them, that the whole Nation was in a disposition to rise with them; And *England* was beginning to grow weary of their new government, the Army and the Parliament being on ill terms. The *English* were also engaged in a war with the States: And the *Dutch* upon that account might be inclined to assist the King to give a diversion to their enemies forces. *Drumond* told me, that upon his coming to *Paris* he was called to the little Council that was then about the King: And when he had delivered his message, Chancellour *Hide* asked him, how the King would be accommodated if he came among them: He answered, not so well as was fitting, but they would all take care of him to furnish him with every thing that was necessary. He wondered that the King did not check the Chancellour in

his

his demand: for he said, it looked strange to him, that when they were hazarding their lives to help him to a Crown, he should be concerned for accommodation. He was sent back with good words and a few kind letters. In the end of the year 1654 *Morgan* marched into the Highlands, and had a small engagement with *Middleton*, which broke that whole matter, of which all people were grown weary; for they had no prospect of success, and the low countries were so over-run with robberies on the pretence of going to assist the Highlanders, that there was an universal joy at the dispersing of that little unruly Army.

AFTER this the country was kept in great order: Some castles in the Highlands had garrisons put in them, that were so careful in their discipline, and so exact to their rules, that in no time the Highlands were kept in better order than during the usurpation. There was a considerable force of about 7 or 8000 men kept in Scotland: These were paid exactly, and strictly disciplined. The pay of the Army brought so much money into the Kingdom, that it continued all that while in a very flourishing state. *Cromwell* built three Citadels, at *Leith*, *Air*, and *Inverness*, besides many little forts: There was good justice done, and vice was suppress'd and punished; so that we always reckon those eight years of usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity. There was also a sort of union of the three Kingdoms in one Parliament, where *Scotland* had its representative. The Marquis of *Argile* went up one of our Commissioners.

The  
state  
of  
Scotland  
during  
the  
usur-  
pation

THE



Dis-  
putes  
among  
the  
Cove-  
nan-  
ters.

THE next scene I must open relates to the Church, and the heats raised in it by the publick resolutions, and the protestation made against them. New occasions of dispute arose. A General Assembly was in course to meet; and sate at St. *Andrews*: So the Commission of the Kirk wrote a circular letter to all the Presbyteries, setting forth all the grounds of their resolutions, and complaining of those who had protested against them; upon which they desired that they would chuse none of those who adhered to the protestation to represent them in the next Assembly. This was only an advice, and had been frequently practised in the former years: But now it was highly complained of, as a limitation on the freedom of elections, which inferred a nullity on all their proceedings: So the Protestors renewed their protestation against the meeting upon a higher point, disowning that authority which hitherto they had magnified as the highest tribunal in the Church, in which they thought Christ was on his throne. Upon this a great debate followed, and many books were written in a course of several years. The publick men said, this was the destroying of Presbytery, if the lesser number did not submit to the greater: It was a sort of Prelacy, if it was pretended that votes ought rather to be weighed than counted: Parity was the essence of their constitution: And in this all people saw they had clearly the better of the argument. The Protestors urged for themselves, that, since all Protestants rejected the pretence of infallibility, the major part of the Church might fall into errors, in which case the lesser number could not

not be bound to submit to them. They complained of the many corrupt Clergy-men who were yet among them, who were leavened with the old leaven; and did on all occasions shew what was still at heart, notwithstanding all their outward compliance: (For the Episcopal Clergy, that had gone into the Covenant and Presbytery to hold their livings, struck in with great heat to inflame the controversy: And it appeared very visibly that Presbytery, if not held in order by the civil power, could not be long kept in quiet.) If in the supream Court of judicature the majority did not conclude the matter, it was not possible to keep up their beloved parity. It was confessed that in doctrinal points the lesser number was not bound to submit to the greater: But in the matters of mere government it was impossible to maintain the Presbyterian form on any other bottom.

As this debate grew hot, and they were ready to break out into censures on both sides, some were sent down from the Commonwealth of *England* to settle *Scotland*: Of these Sir *Henry Vane* was one. The Resolutioners were known to have been more in the King's interest: So they were not so kindly looked on as the Protestors. Some of the *English* junto moved, that pains should be taken to unite the two parties: But *Vane* opposed this with much zeal. He said, would they heal the wound that they had given themselves, which weakened them so much? The setting them at quiet could have no other effect, but to heal and unite them in their opposition to their authority. He therefore moved, that they might be left at liberty to fight out

out their own quarrels, and be kept in a greater dependence on the temporal authority, when both sides were forced to make their appeal to it: So it was resolved to suffer them to meet still in their Presbyteries and Synods, but not in General Assemblies, which had a greater face of union and authority.

THIS advice was followed: So the division went on. Both sides studied when any Church became vacant to get a man of their own party to be chosen to succeed in the election: And upon these occasions many tumults happened. In some of them stones were thrown, and many were wounded, to the great scandal of religion. In all these disputes the Protestors were the fiercer side: For being less in number they studied to make that up with their fury. In one point they had a great advantage of the others, with relation to their new masters who required them to give over praying for the King. The Protestors were weary of doing it, and submitted very readily: But the others stood out longer; and said, it was a duty lying on them by the Covenant, so they could not let it fall. Upon that the *English* Council set out an order, that such as should continue to pray for the King should be denied the help of law to recover their tithes, or as they called them their stipends. This touched them in a sensible point: But, that they might not seem to act upon the civil authority, they did enact it in their Presbyteries, that since all duties did not oblige at all times, therefore considering the present juncture, in which the King could not protect them, they resolved to discontinue that piece of duty. This exposed them



uter  
men  
to  
meet  
not  
face  
tion  
rch  
arty  
And  
aed  
ma  
re  
were  
they  
one  
ners  
ired  
The  
mit  
lon  
n by  
U  
der  
King  
their  
This  
they  
ority  
since  
efore  
n the  
ed to  
posed  
them





OLIVIER CROMWELL

the  
con  
fice  
will  
min  
T  
enc  
in p  
by t  
peop  
and  
subli  
pick  
the j  
prop  
truth  
form  
They  
their  
ment  
they  
nent  
callec  
look  
where  
gave  
lemn  
fast d  
or ten  
two o  
Lord'  
tion  
places  
mons  
ny M

them to much censure, since such a carnal consideration as the force of law for their benefices, (which all regard but too much, tho' few will own it,) seemed to be that which determined them.

THIS great breach among them being rather encouraged than suppressed by those who were in power, all the methods imaginable were used by the Protestors to raise their credit among the people. They preached often, and very long; and seemed to carry their devotions to a greater sublimity than others did. Their constant topic was, the sad defection and corruption of the judicatories of the Church, and they often proposed several expedients for purging it. The truth was they were more active, and their performances were livelier, than the Publick men. They were in nothing more singular than in their Communion. In many places the Sacrament was discontinued for several years; where they thought the magistracy, or the more eminent of the parish, were engaged in what they called the defection, which was much more looked at than scandal given by bad lives. But where the greatest part was more sound, they gave the Sacrament with a new and unusual solemnity. On the *Wednesday* before they held a fast day with prayers and sermons for about eight or ten hours together: On the *Saturday* they had two or three preparation sermons: And on the Lord's day they had so very many, that the action continued above twelve hours in some places: And all ended with three or four sermons on *Monday* for thanksgiving. A great many Ministers were brought together from several

Methods  
taken  
on  
both,  
sides



ral parts: And high pretenders would have gone 40 or 50 miles to a noted Communion. The crouds were far beyond the capacity of their Churches, or the reach of their voices: So at the same time they had sermons in two or three different places: And all was performed with great shew of zeal. They had stories of many signal conversions that were wrought on these occasions.

IT is scarce credible what an effect this had among the people, to how great a measure of knowledge they were brought, and how readily they could pray *extempore*, and talk of divine matters. All this tended to raise the credit of the Protestors. The Resolutioners tried to imitate them in these practices: But they were not thought so spiritual, nor so ready at them: So the others had the chief following. Where the Judicatories of the church were near an equality of the men of both sides, there were perpetual janglings among them: At last they proceeded to deprive men of both sides, as they were the majority in the Judicatories: But because the possession of the church, and the benefice, was to depend on the orders of the temporal Courts, both sides made their application to the privy Council that *Cromwell* had set up in *Scotland*: And they were by them referred to *Cromwell* himself: So they sent Deputies up to *London*. The Protestors went in great numbers: They came nearer both to the principles and to the temper that prevailed in the Army: So they were looked on as the better men, on whom, by reason of the first rise of the difference, the government might more certainly depend.

depend: Whereas the others were considered as more in the King's interests:

THE Resolutioners sent up one *Sharp*, who had been long in *England*, and was an active and eager man: He had a very small proportion of learning, and was but an indifferent preacher: But having some acquaintance with the Presbyterian Ministers at *London*, whom *Cromwell* was then courting much by reason of their credit in the City, he was by an error that proved fatal to the whole party sent up in their name to *London*; where he continued for some years soliciting their concerns, and making himself known to all sorts of people. He seemed more than ordinary zealous for Presbytery. And, as *Cromwell* was then designing to make himself King, *Dr. Wilkins* told me he often said to him; no temporal Government could have a sure support without a national Church that adhered to it, and he thought *England* was capable of no constitution but Episcopacy, to which, he told me, he did not doubt but *Cromwell* would have turned, as soon as the design of his Kingship was settled. Upon this *Wilkins* spoke to *Sharp*, that it was plain by their breach that Presbytery could not be managed so as to maintain order among them, and that an Episcopacy must be brought in to settle them: But *Sharp* could not bear the discourse, and rejected it with horror. I have dwelt longer on this matter, and opened it more fully than was necessary, if I had not thought that this may have a good effect on the reader, and shew him how impossible it is in a parity to maintain peace and order, if the Magistrate does not interpose: And

An old  
count  
of  
*Sharp*

if he does that will be cried out upon by the zealous of both sides, as abominable Erastianism.

Some  
of  
*Crom-*  
*well's*  
*Ma-*  
*xims.*

FROM these matters I go next to set down some particulars that I knew concerning *Cromwell*, that I have not yet seen in books. Some of these I had from the Earls of *Carlisle* and *Orrery*: The one had been the Captain of his Guards: And the other had been the President of his Council in *Scotland*. But he from whom I learned the most was *Stoupe*, a *Grison* by birth, then Minister of the *French* Church in the *Savoy*, and afterwards a Brigadier General in the *French* Armies: A man of intrigue, but of no virtue. He adhered to the Protestant Religion as to outward appearance: He was much trusted by *Cromwell* in foreign affairs; in which *Cromwell* was oft at a loss, and having no foreign language, but the little latin that stuck to him from his education, which he spoke very vitiously and scantily, had not the necessary means of informing himself.

WHEN *Cromwell* first assumed the government, he had three great parties of the Nation all against him, the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Republican party. The last was the most set on his ruin, looking on him as the person that had perfidiously broke the House of Commons, and was setting up for himself. He had none to rely on but the Army: Yet that enthusiastick temper, that he had taken so much pains to raise among them, made them very intractable: Many of the chief Officers were broken, and imprisoned by him: And he flattered the rest the best he could. He went on in his old way of long and dark discourses, sermons, and prayers.



prayers. As to the Cavalier party, he was afraid both of assassination and other plottings from them. As to the former of these he took a method that proved very effectual: He said often and openly, that in a war it was necessary to return upon any side all the violent things that any of the one side did to the other: This was done for preventing greater mischief, and for bringing men to fair war: Therefore, he said, Assassinations were such detestable things that he would never begin them: But if any of the King's party should endeavour to assassinate him, and fail in it, he would make an assassinating war of it, and destroy the whole family: And he pretended he had instruments to execute it, whensoever he should give order for it. The terror of this was a better security to him than his guards.

THE other as to their plottings was the more dangerous. But he understood that one Sir Richard Willis was Chancellour *Hide's* chief confidant, to whom he wrote often, and to whom all the party submitted, looking on him as an able and wise man in whom they confided absolutely. So he found a way to talk with him: He said, he did not intend to hurt any of the party: His design was rather to save them from ruin: They were apt after their cups to run into foolish and ill concerted plots, which signified nothing but to ruin those who engaged in them: He knew they consulted him in every thing: All he desired of him was to know all their plots, that he might so disconcert them that none might ever suffer for them: If he clapt any of them up in prison, it should only be for

a little time: And they should be interrogated only about some trifling discourse, but never about the business they had been engaged in. He offered *Willis* whatever he would accept of, and to give it when or as he pleased. He durst not ask or take above 2000 pound a year. None was trusted with this but his Secretary *Thurlo*, who was a very dexterous man at getting intelligence.

THUS *Cromwell* had all the King's party in a net. He let them dance in it at pleasure: And upon occasions clapt them up for a short while: but nothing was ever discovered that hurt any of them. In conclusion, after *Cromwell's* death, *Willis* continued to give notice of every thing to *Thurlo*. At last, when the plot was laid among the Cavaliers for a general insurrection, the King was desired to come over to that which was to be raised in *Sussex*: He was to have landed near *Chichester*, all by *Willis's* management: And a snare was laid for him, in which he would probably have been caught, if *Morland*, *Thurlo's* under secretary, who was a prying man, had not discovered the correspondence between his Master and *Willis*, and warned the King of his danger. Yet it was not easy to persuade those who had trusted *Willis* so much, and who thought him faithfull in all respects, to believe that he could be guilty of so black a treachery: So *Morland's* advertisement was look'd on as an artifice to create jealousy. But he to give a full conviction observed where the Secretary laid some letters of advice, on which he saw he relied most, and getting the key of that cabinet in his hand to seal a letter with a seal that hung to it,

he took the impresson of it in wax, and got a key to be made from it, by which he opened the cabinet, and sent over some of the most important of those letters. The hand was known, and this artful but black treachery was discovered: So the design of the rising was laid aside. Sir *George Booth* having engaged at the same time to raise a body in *Cheshire*, two several Messengers were sent to him to let him know the design could not be executed at the time appointed: But both these persons were suspected by some garrisons thro' which they must pass, as giving no good account of themselves in a time of jealousy, and were so long stoppt, that they could not give him notice in time, So he very gallantly performed his part: But not being seconded he was soon crushed by *Lambert*. Thus *Willis* lost the merit of great and long services. This was one of *Cromwell's* master pieces.

AS for the Presbyterians, they were so apprehensive of the fury of the Commonwealth party, that they thought it a deliverance to be rescued out of their hands: Many of the Republicans begun to profess Deism: And almost all of them were for destroying all Clergy-men, and for breaking every thing that looked like the union of a national Church. They were for pulling down the Churches, for discharging the tithes, and for leaving religion free, as they called it, without either encouragement or restraint. *Cromwell* assured the Presbyterians, he would maintain a publick ministry with all due encouragement; and he joined them in a commission with some Independents, to be the triers of all



those who were to be admitted to benefices. These disposed also of all the Churches that were in the gift of the Crown, of the Bishops, and of the Cathedral Churches: So this softened them.

HE studied to divide the Commonwealth party among themselves, and to set the Fifth-monarchy men and the Enthusiasts against those who pretended to little or no religion, and acted only upon the principles of civil liberty; such as *Algernon Sidney*, *Henry Nevill*, *Martin Wildman*, and *Harrington*. The Fifth-monarchy men seemed to be really on expectation every day when *Christ* should appear: *John Goodwin* headed these, who first brought in *Arminianism* among the sectaries, for he was for liberty of all forts. *Cromwell* hated that doctrine. For his beloved notion was, that once a child of God was always a child of God. Now he had led a very strict life for above eight years together before the war: So he comforted himself much with his reflections on that time, and on the certainty of perseverance. But none of the Preachers were so thorough-paced for him as to temporal matters, as *Goodwin* was; for he not only justified the putting the King to death, but magnified it as the gloriouslest action men were capable of. He filled all people with such expectation of a glorious thousand years speedily to begin, that it looked like a madness possessing them.

His  
design  
for the  
King-  
ship.

IT was no easy thing for *Cromwell* to satisfy those, when he took the power into his own hands; since that looked like a step to Kingship, which *Goodwin* had long represented as the great

Anti-

Antichrist, that hindered Christ's being set on his throne. To these he said, and as some have told me, with many tears, that he would rather have taken a shepherd's staff than the Protectorship, since nothing was more contrary to his genius than a shew of greatness: But he saw it was necessary at that time to keep the Nation from falling into extream disorder, and from becoming open to the common enemy: And therefore he only stept in between the living and the dead, as he phrased it, in that interval, till God should direct them on what bottom they ought to settle: And he assured them, that then he would surrender the heavy load lying upon him, with a joy equal to the sorrow with which he was affected while under that shew of dignity. To men of this stamp he would enter into the terms of their old equality, shutting the door, and making them sit down covered by him, to let them see how little he valued those distances that for form's sake he was bound to keep up with others. These discourses commonly ended in a long prayer. Thus with much ado he managed the republican enthusiasts. The other Republicans he called the Heathens, and professed he could not so easily work upon them. He had some Chaplains of all sorts: And he begun in his latter years to be gentler towards those of the church of *England*. They had their meetings in several places about *London* without any disturbance from him. In conclusion, even the Papists courted him: And he with great dissimulation carried things with all sorts of people farther than was thought possible, considering the difficulties he met with in all his Parliaments,

G 5

But

But it was generally believed that his life and all his arts were exhausted at once, and that if he had lived much longer he could not have held things together.

THE debates came on very high for setting up a King. All the lawyers, chiefly *Glyn*, *Maynard*, *Fountain*, and *St. Johns*, were vehemently for this. They said, no new government could be settled legally but by a King, who should pass bills for such a form as should be agreed on. Till then all they did was like building upon sand: Still men were in danger of a revolution: And in that case all that had been done would be void of itself, as contrary to a law yet in being and not repealed. Till that was done, every man that had been concerned in the war, and in the blood that was shed, chiefly the King's, was still obnoxious: And no warrants could be pleaded, but what were founded on or approved of by a law pass'd by King, Lords, and Commons. They might agree to trust this King as much as they pleased, and to make his power determine as soon as they pleased, so that he should be a *Felo de se*, and consent to an act, if need were, of extinguishing both name and thing for ever. And as no man's person was safe till that was done, so they said all the grants and sales that had been made were null and void: All men that had gathered or disposed of the publick money were for ever accountable. In short, this point was made out beyond the possibility of answering it, except upon enthusiastick principles. But by that sort of men all this was called a mistrusting of God, and a trussing to the arm of flesh: They had



had gone out, as they said, in the simplicity of their hearts to fight the Lord's battels, to whom they had made the appeal: He had heard them, and appeared for them, and now they could trust him no longer: They had pulled down Monarchy with the Monarch, and would they now build that up which they had destroyed: They had solemnly vowed to God to be true to the Commonwealth, without a King or Kingship: And under that vow, as under a banner, they had fought and prevailed: But now they must be secure, and in order to that go back to *Egypt*. They thought, it was rather a happiness that they were still under a legal danger: This might be a mean to make them more cautious and diligent. If Kings were invaders of God's right, and usurpers upon mens liberties, why must they have recourse to such a wicked engine? Upon these grounds they stood out: And they looked on all that was offered about the limiting this King in his power, as the gilding the pill. The assertors of those laws that made it necessary to have a King would no sooner have one, than they would bring forth out of the same store-house all that related to the power and prerogative of this King: Therefore they would not hearken to any thing that was offered on that head, but rejected it with scorn. Many of them began openly to say, if we must have a King in consequence of so much law as was alledged, why should we not rather have that King to whom the law certainly pointed than any other? The Earl of *Orrery* told me, that, coming one day to *Cromwell* during those heats, and telling him he had been in the City all that day.

day, *Cromwell* asked him what news he had heard there: The other answered, that he was told he was in treaty with the King, who was to be restored and to marry his daughter. *Cromwell* expressing no indignation at this, Lord *Orrery* said, in the state to which things were brought, he saw not a better expedient: They might bring him in on what terms they pleased: And *Cromwell* might retain the same authority he then had with less trouble. *Cromwell* answered, the King can never forgive his father's blood. *Orrery* said, he was one of many that were concerned in that, but he would be alone in the merit of restoring him. *Cromwell* replied, he is so damnably debauched he would undo us all; and so turned to another discourse without any emotion, which made *Orrery* conclude he had often thought of that expedient.

BEFORE the day in which he refused the offer of the Kingship that was made to him by the Parliament, he had kept himself on such a reserve that no man knew what answer he would give. It was thought more likely he would accept of it: But that which determined him to the contrary was, that, when he went down in the morning to walk in St. James's park, *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* were waiting for him: The one had married his daughter, and the other his sister. With these he entered into much discourse on the subject, and argued for it: He said, it was a tempting of God to expose so many worthy men to death and poverty, when there was a certain way to secure them. The others insisted still on the oaths they had taken. He said, those oaths were against the power and  
tyranny

tyranny of Kings, but not against the four letters that made the word King. In conclusion, they, believing from his discourse that he intended to accept of it, told him, they saw great confusions would follow on it: And as they could not serve him to set up the idol they had put down, and had sworn to keep down, so they would not engage in any thing against him, but would retire and look on. So they offered him their commissions, since they were resolved not to serve a King: He desired they would stay till they heard his answer. It was believed, that he, seeing two persons so near him ready to abandon him, concluded that many others would follow their example; and therefore thought it was too bold a venture. So he refused it, but accepted of the continuance of his Protectorship. Yet, if he had lived out the next winter, as the debates were to have been brought on again, so it was generally thought he would have accepted of the offer. And it is yet a question what the effect of that would have been. Some have thought it would have brought on a general settlement, since the law and the ancient government were again to take place: Others have fancied just the contrary, that it would have enraged the Army, so that they would either have deserted the service, or have revolted from him, and perhaps have killed him in the first fray of the tumult. I will not determine which of these would have most probably happened. In those debates some of the Cavalier party, or rather their children, came to bear some share. They were then all zealous Commonwealthsmen, according to the directions sent them from those



## 116 A SUMMARY of Affairs

those about the King. Their business was to oppose *Cromwell* on all his demands, and so to weaken him at home and expose him abroad. When some of the other party took notice of this great change, from being the abettors of prerogative to become the patrons of liberty, they pretended their education in the Court and their obligation to it had engaged them that way; but now since that was out of doors, they had the common principles of human nature and the love of liberty in them. By this mean as the old republicans assisted and protected them, so at the same time they strengthened the faction against *Cromwell*. But these very men at the Restoration shook off this disguise, and reverted to their old principles for a high prerogative and absolute power. They said they were for liberty, when it was a mean to distress one who they thought had no right to govern; but when the government returned to its old channel, they were still as firm to all prerogative notions, and as great enemies to liberty as ever.

*Crom-  
well's  
en-  
gage-  
ment  
with  
France*

I go next to give an account of *Cromwell's* transactions with relation to foreign affairs. He laid it down for a maxim to spare no cost or charge in order to procure him intelligence. When he understood what dealers the *Jews* were every where in that trade that depends on news, the advancing money upon high or low interests in proportion to the risque they run or the gain to be made as the times might turn, and in the buying and selling of the actions of money so advanced, he, more upon that account than in compliance with the principle of toleration, brought a company of them over to *England*,  
and

before the RESTORATION. III

and gave them leave to build a Synagogue. All the while that he was negotiating this, they were sure and good spies for him, especially with relation to *Spain* and *Portugal*. The Earl of *Orrery* told me, he was once walking with him in one of the galleries of *Whitehall*, and a man almost in rags came in view: He presently dismiss'd Lord *Orrery*, and carried that man into his closet; who brought him an account of a great sum of money that the *Spaniards* were sending over to pay their army in *Flanders*, but in a *Dutch* man of war: And he told him the places of the ship in which the money was lodged; *Cromwell* sent an exprefs immediately to *Smith*, afterwards Sir *Jeremy Smith*, who lay in the *Downs*, telling him that within a day or two such a *Dutch* ship would pass the channel, & that he must visit it for the *Spanish* money, which was conterband goods, we being then in war with *Spain*. So when the ship pass'd by *Dover*, *Smith* sent and demanded leave to search it. The *Dutch* Captain answered, none but his masters might search him. *Smith* sent him word, he had set up an hour glafs, and if before that was run out he did not submit to the search, he would force it. The Captain saw it was in vain to struggle, and so all the money was found. Next time that *Cromwell* saw *Orrery* he told him, he had his intelligence from that contemptible man he saw him go to some days before. He had on all occasions very good intelligence: He knew every thing that pass'd in the King's little Court: And yet none of his spies were discovered, but one only.

THE greatest difficulty on him in his foreign affairs

affairs was, what side to chuse, *France* or *Spain*.  
 The Prince of *Conde* was then in the *Nether-*  
*lands* with a great many Protestants about him:  
 He set the *Spaniards* on making great steps to-  
 wards the gaining *Cromwell* into their interests.  
*Spain* ordered their Ambassador to compliment  
 him: He was esteemed one of their ablest men:  
 His name was *Don Alonso de Cardenas*: He of-  
 fered that if *Cromwell* would join with them,  
 they would engage themselves to make no peace  
 till he should recover *Calais* again to *England*.  
 This was very agreeable to *Cromwell*, who  
 thought it would recommend him much to the  
 Nation, if he could restore that town again to  
 the *English* Empire, after it had been a hundred  
 years in the hands of the *French*. *Mazarin* hear-  
 ing of this sent one over to negotiate with him,  
 but at first without a character: And, to outbid  
 the *Spaniard*, he offered to assist *Cromwell* to take  
*Dunkirk*, which was a place of much more im-  
 portance. The Prince of *Conde* sent over like-  
 wise to offer *Cromwell* to turn Protestant; and,  
 if he would give him a fleet with good troops,  
 he would make a descent in *Guienne*, where  
 he did not doubt but that he should be assisted  
 by the Protestants; and that he should so distress  
*France*, as to obtain such conditions for them,  
 and for *England*, as *Cromwell* himself should  
 dictate. Upon this offer *Cromwell* sent *Stoupe*  
 round all *France*, to talk with their most emi-  
 nent men, to see into their strength, into their  
 present disposition, the oppressions they lay un-  
 der, and their inclinations to trust the Prince of  
*Conde*. He went from *Paris* down the *Loire*,  
 then to *Bordeaux*, from thence to *Montauban*,  
 and



and cross the south of *France* to *Lions*: He was instructed to talk to them only as a traveller, and to assure them of *Cromwell's* zeal and care for them, which he magnified every where. The Protestants were then very much at their ease: For *Mazarine*, who thought of nothing but to enrich his family, took care to maintain the edicts better than they had been in any time formerly. So *Stonpe* returned, and gave *Cromwell* an account of the ease they were then in, and of their resolution to be quiet. They had a very bad opinion of the Prince of *Conde*, as a man who sought nothing but his own greatness, to which they believed that he was ready to sacrifice all his friends, and every cause that he espoused. This settled *Cromwell* as to that particular. He also found that the Cardinal had such spies on that Prince, that he knew every message that had passed between them: Therefore he would have no farther correspondence with him: He said upon that to *Stonpe*, *Silentius est, & garrulus, & venditur à suis Cardinali*. That which determined him afterwards in the choice was this: He found the parties grew so strong against him at home, that he saw if the King or his brother were assisted by *France* with an Army of *Huguenots* to make a descent in *England*, which was threatened if he should join with *Spain*, this might prove very dangerous to him, who had so many enemies at home and so few friends. This particular consideration with relation to himself made great impressions on him; for he knew the *Spaniards* could give those Princes no strength, nor had they any Protestant subjects to assist them in any such design. Upon

H

this

this occasion King *James* told me, that among other prejudices he had at the Protestant Religion this was one, that both his brother and himself, being in many companies in *Paris incognito*, where they met many Protestants, he found they were all alienated from them, and were great admirers of *Cromwell*: So he believed they were all rebels in their heart. I answered, that foreigners were no other way concerned in the quarrels of their neighbours, than to see who could or would assist them: The coldness they had seen formerly in the Court of *England* with relation to them, and the zeal which was then expressed, must naturally make them depend on one that seemed resolved to protect them. As the negotiation went on between *France* and *England*, *Cromwell* would have the King and his brother dismissed the Kingdom. *Mazarin* consented to this; for he thought it more honourable, that the *French* King should send them away of his own accord, than that it should be done pursuant to an article with *Cromwell*. Great excuses were made for doing it: They had some money given them, and were sent away loaded with promises of constant supplies, that were never meant to be performed: And they retired to *Colen*; for the *Spaniards* were not yet out of hope of gaining *Cromwell*. But when that vanished, they invited them to *Brixells*, and they settled great appointments on them, in their way, which was always to promise much, how little soever they could perform. They also settled a pay for such of the subjects of the three Kingdoms as would come and serve under our Princes: But few came, ex-

before the RESTORATION. 115

cept from *Ireland*: Of these some Regiments were formed. But tho' this gave them a great and lasting interest in our Court, especially in King *James's*, yet they did not much to deserve it.

BEFORE King *Charles* left *Paris* he changed his Religion, but by whose persuasion is not yet known: Only Cardinal *de Rets* was on the secret, and Lord *Aubigny* had a great hand in it. It was kept a great secret. Chancellour *Hide* had some suspicion of it, but would never suffer himself to believe it quite. Soon after the Restoration that Cardinal came over in disguise, and had an audience of the King: What pass'd it not known. The first ground I had to believe it was this: The Marquis *de Roucy*, who was the man of the greatest family in *France* that continued Protestant to the last, was much pressed by that Cardinal to change his Religion: He was his Kinsman and his particular friend. Among other reasons one that he urged was, that the Protestant Religion must certainly be ruined, and that they could expect no protection from *England*, for to his certain knowledge both the Princes were already changed. *Roucy* told this in great confidence to his Minister, who after his death sent an advertisement of it to my self. Sir *Allen Broderick*, a great confidant of the Chancellours, who from being very atheistical, became in the last years of his life an eminent penitent, as he was a man of great parts, with whom I had lived long in great confidence, on his death-bed sent me likewise an account of this matter, which he believed was done in *Fontainebleau*, before King *Charles* was sent to *Colen*.

The  
King  
turned  
Papist.



As for King *James*, it seems he was not reconciled at that time: For he told me, that being in a Monastery in *Flanders*, a Nun desired him to pray every day, that if he was not in the right way God would bring him into it: And he said, the impression these words made on him never left him till he changed.

*Crom-  
well's  
design  
on the  
West-  
Indies.*

TO return to *Cromwell*: While he was balancing in his mind what was fit for him to do, *Gage*, who had been a Priest, came over from the *West-Indies*, and gave him such an account of the feebleness as well as of the wealth of the *Spaniards* in those parts, as made him conclude that it would be both a great and an easy conquest to seize on their dominions. By this he reckoned he would be supplied with such a treasure, that his government would be established before he should need to have any recourse to a Parliament for money. *Spain* would never admit of a peace with *England* between the tropicks: So he was in a state of war with them as to those parts, even before he declared war in *Europe*. He upon that equipped a fleet with a force sufficient, as he hoped, to have seized *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*. And *Gage* had assured him, that success in that expedition would make all the rest fall into his hands. *Stoupe*, being on another occasion called to his closet, saw him one day very intent in looking on a Map, and in measuring distances. *Stoupe* saw it was a Map of the Bay of *Mexico*, and observed who printed it. So, there being no discourse upon that subject, *Stoupe* went next day to the Printer to buy the Map. The Printer denied he had printed it. *Stoupe* affirmed he had  
seen

seen it. Then, said he, it must be only in *Cromwell's* hand; for he only had some of the Prints, and had given him a strict charge to sell none till he had leave given him. So *Stoupe* perceived there was a design that way. And when the time of setting out the fleet came on, all were in a gaze whither it was to go: Some fancied it was to rob the Church of *Loretto*, which did occasion a fortification to be drawn round it: Others talked of *Rome* itself; for *Cromwell's* Preachers had this often in their mouths, that if it were not for the divisions at home he would go and sack *Babylon*: Others talked of *Cadiz*, tho' he had not yet broke with the *Spaniards*. The *French* could not penetrate into the secret. *Cromwell* had not finished his alliance with them: So he was not bound to give them an account of the expedition. All he said upon it was, that he sent out the fleet to guard the seas, and to restore *England* to its dominion on that element. *Stoupe* happened to say in a company, he believed the design was on the *West-Indies*. The *Spanish* Ambassadour, hearing that, sent for him very privately, to ask him upon what ground he said it: And he offered to lay down 10000 *l.* if he could make any discovery of that. *Stoupe* owned to me he had a great mind to the money; and fancied he betrayed nothing if he did discover the grounds of these conjectures, since nothing had been trusted to him: But he expected greater matters from *Cromwell*, and so kept the secret; and said only, that in a diversity of conjectures, that seemed to him more probable than any other. But the Ambassadour made no account of that; nor did he think it

worth the writing to *Don John*, then at *Bruxells*, about it.

*STOUBE* writ it over as his conjecture to one about the Prince of *Conde*, who at first hearing it was persuaded that must be the design, and went next day to suggest it to *Don John*: But *Don John* relied so much on the Ambassadour, that this made no impression. And indeed all the Ministers whom he employed knew that they were not to disturb him with troublesome news: Of which King *Charles* told a pleasant story. One whom *Don John* was sending to some Court in *Germany*, coming to the King to ask his commands, he desired him only to write him news: The Spaniard asked him, whether he would have true or false news: And, when the King seemed amazed at the question, he added, if he writ him true news the King must be secret, for he knew he must write news to *Don John* that would be acceptable, true or false. When the Ministers of that Court shewed that they would be served in such a manner, it is no wonder to see how their affairs have declined. This matter of the fleet continued a great secret; & some months after that, *Stoupe* being accidentally with *Cromwell*, one came from the fleet thro' *Ireland* with a letter. The bearer looked like one that brought no welcome news. And as soon as *Cromwell* had read the letter, he dismissed *Stoupe*, who went immediately to the Earl of *Leicester*, then Lord *Lisle*, and told him what he had seen. He being of *Cromwell's* Council went to *Whitehall*, and came back, and told *Stoupe* of the descent made on *Hispaniola*, and of the misfortune that had

appeared



happened. It was then late, and was the post-night for *Flanders*. So *Stoupe* writ it as news to his correspondent, some days before the *Spanish* Ambassadour knew any thing of it. *Don John* was amazed at the news, and had never any regard for the Ambassadour after that; but had a great opinion of *Stoupe*, and ordered the Ambassadour to make him theirs at any rate. The Ambassadour sent for him, and asked him, now that it appeared he had guessed right, what were his grounds! And when he told what they were, the Ambassadour owned he had reason to conclude as he did upon what he saw. And upon that he made great use of *Stoupe*: But he himself was never esteemed after that so much as he had been. This deserved to be set down so particularly, since by it it appears that the greatest design may be discovered by an undue carelessness. The Court of *France* was amazed at the undertaking, and was glad that it had miscarried; for the Cardinal said, if he had suspected it, he would have made peace with *Spain* on any terms, rather than to have given way to that which would have been such an addition to *England*, as must have brought all the wealth of the world into their hands. This fleet took *Jamaica*: But that was a small gain, tho' much magnified to cover the failing of the main design. The war after that broke out, in which *Dunkirk* was indeed taken, and put in *Cromwell's* hands: But the trade of *England* suffered more in that, than in any former war: So he lost the heart of the city of *London* by that means.

*CROMWELL* had two signal occasions given him to shew his zeal in protecting the

His  
zeal  
for the  
Protes-  
tant  
Reli-  
gion.

Protestants abroad. The Duke of Savoy raised a new persecution of the *Vandois*: So *Cromwell* sent to *Mazarin*, desiring him to put a stop to that; adding, that he knew well they had that Duke in their power, and could restrain him as they pleased: And if they did not he must presently break with them. *Mazarin* objected to this as unreasonable: He promised to do good offices: But he could not be obliged to answer for the effects they might have. This did not satisfy *Cromwell*: So they obliged the Duke of Savoy to put a stop to that unjust fury: And *Cromwell* raised a great sum for the *Vandois*, and sent over *Morland* to settle all their concerns, and to supply all their losses. There was also a tumult in *Nismes*, in which some disorder had been committed by the *Huguenots*: And they, apprehending severe proceedings upon it, sent one over with great expedition to *Cromwell*, who sent him back to *Paris* in an hour's time with a very effectual letter to his Ambassadour, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be pass'd over, or to come away immediately. *Mazarin* complained of this way of proceeding, as too imperious: But the necessity of their affairs made him yield. These things raised *Cromwell's* character abroad, and made him be much depended on.

HIS Ambassadour in *France* at this time was *Lockhart*, a *Scotchman*, who had married his niece, and was in high favour with him, as he well deserved to be. He was both a wise and a gallant man, calm and vertuous, and one that carried the generousities of friendship very far. He was made Governour of *Dunkirk*, and

Am

before the RESTORATION. 121

Ambassadour at the same time. But he told me, that when he was sent afterwards Ambassadour by King Charles, he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid him in Cromwell's time.

STOUBE told me of a great design Cromwell had intended to begin his Kingship with, if he had assumed it. He resolved to set up a Council for the Protestant Religion, in opposition to the Congregation *de Propaganda fide* at Rome. He intended it should consist of seven Councillours, and four Secretaries for different provinces. These were the first; *France, Switzerland, and the Valleys*: The *Palatinate* and the other Calvinists were the second: *Germany, the North, and Turkey* were the third: And the *East and West-Indies* were the fourth. The Secretaries were to have 500 l. salary a piece, and to keep a correspondence every where, to know the state of Religion all over the world, that so all good designs might be by their means protected and assisted. Stoupe was to have the first Province. They were to have a fund of 10000 l. a year at their disposal for ordinary emergencies, but to be farther supplied as occasions should require it. *Chelsea* college was to be made up for them, which was then an old decayed building, that had been at first raised to be a college for writers of controversy. I thought it was not fit to let such a project as this be quite lost: It was certainly a noble one: But how far he would have pursued it must be left to conjecture.

STOUBE told me a remarkable passage in his employment under Cromwell. Stoupe had

H 5

A great design for the interest of the Protestant Religion

Other passages of Cromwell's life,



desired all that were under the Prince of Conde to let him know some news, in return of what he writ to them. So he had a letter from one of them, giving an account of an *Irishman* newly gone over, who had said he would kill *Cromwell*, and that he was to lodge in *King-street Westminster*. With this *Stoupe* went to *White-hall*. *Cromwell* being then at Council, he sent him a note, letting him know that he had a business of great consequence to lay before him. *Cromwell* was then upon a matter that did so entirely possess him, that he, fancying it was only some piece of foreign intelligence, sent *Thurlo* to know what it might be. *Stoupe* was troubled at this, but could not refuse to shew him his letter. *Thurlo* made no great matter of it; He said, they had many such advertisements sent them, which signified nothing but to make the world think the Protector was in danger of his life: And the looking too much after these things had an appearance of fear, which did ill become so great a man. *Stoupe* told him, *King-street* might be soon searched. *Thurlo* answered, if we find no such person, how shall we be laught at? Yet he ordered him to write again to *Bruxells*, and promise any reward if a more particular discovery could be made. *Stoupe* was much cast down, when he saw that a piece of intelligence which he hoped might have made his fortune was so little considered. He wrote to *Bruxells*: But he had no more from thence, but a confirmation of what had been writ formerly to him. And *Thurlo* did not think fit to make any search, or any farther inquiry into it: Nor did he so much as acquaint *Cromwell* with it.

*Stoupe,*

*Stoupe*, being uneasy at this, told Lord *Lisle* of it: And it happened that, a few weeks after, *Syndercomb's* design of assassinating *Cromwell* near *Brentford*, as he was going to *Hampton-court*, was discovered. When he was examined, it appeared that he was the person set out in the letters from *Bruxells*. So *Lisle* said to *Cromwell*, this is the very man of whom *Stoupe* had the notice given him. *Cromwell* seemed amazed at this; and sent for *Stoupe*, and in great wrath reproached him for his ingratitude in concealing a matter of such consequence to him. *Stoupe* upon this shewed him the letters he had received; and put him in mind of the note he had sent in to him, which was immediately after he had the first letter, and that he had sent out *Thurlo* to him. At that *Cromwell* seemed yet more amazed; and sent for *Thurlo*, to whose face *Stoupe* affirmed the matter: Nor did he deny any part of it; but only said, that he had many such advertisements sent him, in which till this time he had never found any truth. *Cromwell* replied sternly, that he ought to have acquainted him with it, and left him to judge of the importance of it. *Thurlo* desired to speak in private with *Cromwell*. So *Stoupe* was dismiss'd, and went away not doubting but *Thurlo* would be disgraced. But, as he understood from *Lisle* afterward, *Thurlo* shewed *Cromwell* such instances of his care and fidelity on all such occasions, and humbly acknowledged his error in this matter, but imputed it wholly to his care both for his honour and quiet, that he pacified him entirely: And indeed he was so much in all *Cromwell's* secrets, that it was not safe to disgrace

grace him without destroying him; and that it seems *Cromwell* could not resolve on. *Thurlo* having mastered this point, that he might farther justify his not being so attentive as he ought to have been, did so much search into *Stoupe's* whole deportment, that he possessed *Cromwell* with such an ill opinion of him, that after that he never treated him with any confidence. So he found how dangerous it was even to preserve a Prince, (so he called him) when a Minister was wounded in the doing of it; and that the Minister would be too hard for the Prince, even tho' his own safety was concerned in it.

THESE are all the memorable things that I have learnt concerning *Cromwell*; of whom so few have spoken with any temper, some commending, and others condemning him, and both out of measure, that I thought a just account of him, which I had from sure hands, might be no unacceptable thing. He never could shake off the roughness of his education and temper: He spoke always long and very ungracefully. The enthusiast and the dissembler mixed so equally in a great part of his deportment, that it was not easy to tell which was the prevailing character. He was indeed both, as I understood from *Wilkins* and *Tilloison*, the one having married his sister, and the other his niece. He was a true enthusiast, but with the principle formerly mentioned, from which he might be easily led into all the practices both of falsehood & cruelty: Which was, that he thought moral laws were only binding on ordinary occasions, but that upon extraordinary ones they might be superseeded. When his own designs did not lead him

out



out of the way, he was a lover of justice and vertue, and even of learning, tho' much decried at that time.

HE studied to seek out able and honest men, and to employ them: And so having heard that my father had a very great reputation in Scotland for piety and integrity, tho' he knew him to be a Royalist, he sent to him, desiring him to accept of a Judge's place, and to do justice in his own country, hoping only that he would not act against his government; but he would not press him to subscribe or swear to it. My father refused it in a pleasant way. When he who brought the message was running out into Cromwell's commendation, my father told a story of a Pilgrim in Popery, who came to a Church where one Saint Kilmaclotius was in great reverence: So the Pilgrim was bid pray to him: But he answered, he knew nothing of him, for he was not in his breviary: But when he was told how great a Saint he was, he prayed this collect; *O sancte Kilmacloti, tu nobis hactenus es incognitus, hoc solum à te rogo, ut si bona tua nobis non profint, saltem mala ne noceant.* My father replied, that he desired no other favour of him but leave to live privately, without the imposition of oaths and subscriptions: And ever after he lived in great quiet: Of which this was an instance. Overton one of Cromwell's Major Generals, who was a high Republican, being for some time at Aberdeen, where we then lived, my father and he were often together: In particular they were shut up alone for about two hours the night after the order came from Cromwell to take away Overton's commissions, and to put

His  
mode-  
ration  
in go-  
vern-  
ment.

put him in arrest. Upon that *Howard*, afterward Earl of *Carlisle*, being sent down to enquire into all the plots that those men had been in, heard of this long privacy: But, when with that he heard what my father's character was, he made no farther enquiry into it; but said, *Cromwell* was very uneasy when any good man was questioned for any thing.

His  
pu-  
blik  
spirit.

THIS gentleness had in a great measure quieted people's minds with relation to him. And his maintaining the honour of the Nation in all foreign countries gratified the vanity which is very natural to *Englishmen*; of which he was so careful, that tho' he was not a crowned head, yet his Ambassadors had all the respects paid them which our King's Ambassadors ever had. He said, the dignity of the Crown was upon the account of the Nation, of which the King was only the representative head, so the Nation being still the same, he would have the same regards paid to his Ministers.

ANOTHER instance of this pleased him much. *Blake* with the fleet happened to be at *Malaga* before he made war upon *Spain*: And some of his seamen went ashore, and met the Hostie carried about; and not only paid no respect to it, but laughed at those who did: So one of the Priests put the people on resenting this indignity; and they fell upon them, and beat them severely. When they returned to their ship they complained of this usage: And upon that *Blake* sent a Trumpet to the Viceroy, to demand the Priest who was the chief instrument in that ill usage. The Viceroy answered, he had no authority over the Priests, and so could not dis-

pose

pose of him. *Blake* upon that sent him word, that he would not enquire who had the power to send the Priest to him, but if he were not sent within three hours he would burn their town: And they, being in no condition to resist him, sent the Priest to him, who justified himself upon the petulant behaviour of the seamen. *Blake* answered, that if he had sent a complaint to him of it, he would have punished them severely, since he would not suffer his men to affront the established Religion of any place at which he touched: But he took it ill, that he set on the *Spaniards* to do it; for he would have all the world to know, that an *Englishman* was only to be punished by an *Englishman*: And so he treated the Priest civilly, and sent him back, being satisfied that he had him at his mercy.

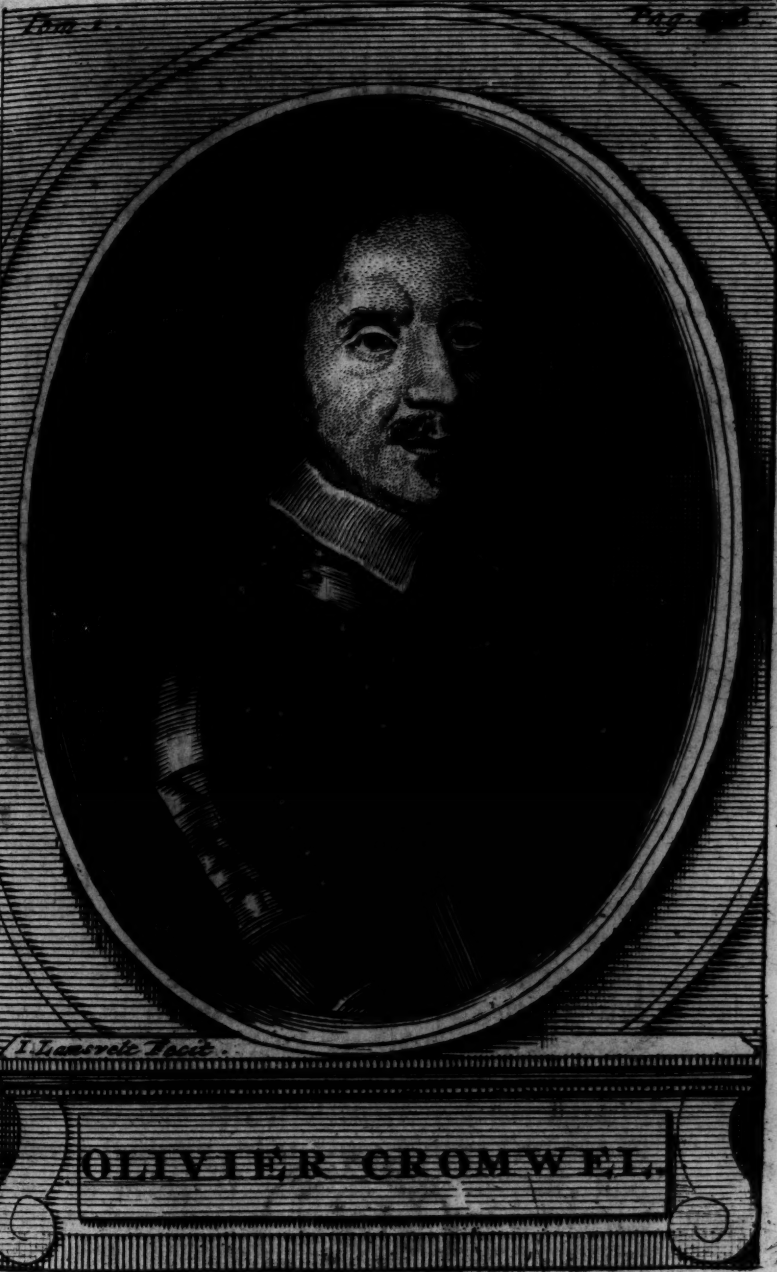
*CROMWELL* was much delighted with this, and read the letters in Council with great satisfaction; and said, he hoped he should make the name of an *Englishman* as great as ever that of a *Roman* had been. The States of *Holland* were in such dread of him, that they took care to give him no sort of umbrage: And when at any time the King or his brothers came to see their sister, the Princess Royal, within a day or two after they used to send a deputation to let them know that *Cromwell* had required of the States that they should give them no harbour. King *Charles*, when he was seeking for colours for the war with the *Dutch* in the year 1672, urged it for one, that they suffered some of his rebels to live in their Provinces. *Borel*, then their Ambassadour, answered, that it was a maxim of long standing among them, not to enquire

All  
th  
world  
was  
afraid  
of  
him.



quire upon what account strangers came to live in their country, but to receive them all, unless they had been concerned in conspiracies against the persons of Princes. The King told him upon that, how they had used both himself and his brother. *Borel*, in great simplicity, answered: *Ha! Sire, c'étoit une autre chose: Cromwell étoit un grand homme, & il se faisoit craindre & par terre & par mer.* This was very rough. The King's answer was: *Je me ferai craindre aussi à mon tour!* But he was scarce as good as his word.

*CROMWELL*'s favourite alliance was with Sweden. *Carolus Gustavus* and he lived in great conjunction of counsels. Even *Algernoon Sydney*, who was not inclined to think or speak well of Kings, commended him to me; and said, he had just notions of publick liberty; and added, that Queen *Christina* seemed to have them likewise. But she was much changed from that, when I waited on her at *Rome*; for she complained of us as a factious Nation, that did not readily comply with the commands of our Princes. All *Italy* trembled at the name of *Cromwell*, and seemed under a panick fear as long as he lived. His fleet scoured the *Mediterranean*: And the *Turks* durst not offend him; but deliver'd up *Hide*, who kept up the character of an Ambassadour from the King there, and was brought over and executed for it. The putting the brother of the King of *Portugal*'s Ambassadour to death for murder, was the carrying justice very far; since, tho' in the strictness of the law of nations it is only the Ambassadour's own person that is exempted from any authority but



OLIVIER CROMWELL



but h  
had g  
owne  
good  
seekin  
plover  
of la  
T  
picion  
that h  
sons,  
but h  
clare  
preter  
which  
bred  
was i  
So th  
both  
he fav  
Indep  
cried  
as a h  
had fi  
and f  
the C  
Cities  
gratul  
these  
Tillot  
death  
hearin  
house  
presen  
one fi



but his master's that sends him, yet the practice had gone in favour of all that the Ambassadour owned to belong to him. *Cromwell* shewed his good understanding in nothing more, than in seeking out capable and worthy men for all employments, but most particularly for the Courts of law, which gave a general satisfaction.

THUS he lived, and at last died, on his auspicious third of *September*, of so slight a sickness, that his death was not looked for. He had two sons, and four daughters. His sons were weak, but honest men. *Richard*, the eldest, tho' declared Protector in pursuance of a nomination pretended to be made by *Cromwell*, the truth of which was much questioned, was not at all bred for business, nor indeed capable of it. He was innocent of all the ill his father had done: So there was no prejudice lay against him: And both the Royalists and the Presbyterians fancied he favoured them, tho' he pretended to be an Independent. But all the Commonwealth party cried out upon his assuming the Protectorship, as a high usurpation; since whatever his father had from his Parliaments was only personal, and so fell with him. Yet in opposition to this, the City of *London*, and all the Counties and Cities almost in *England*, sent him addressees congratulatory, as well as condoling. So little do these pompous appearances of respect signify. *Tillotson* told me, that a week after *Cromwell's* death he being by accident at *Whitehall*, and hearing there was to be a fast that day in the household, he out of curiosity went into the presence chamber where it was held. On the one side of a table *Richard* with the rest of *Crom-*

The ruin  
of his  
family.

well's family were placed, and six of the Preachers were on the other side: *Thomas Goodwin, Owen, Carryl and Sterry* were of the number. There he heard a great deal of strange stuff, enough to disgust a man for ever of that enthusiastick boldness. God was as it were reproached with *Cromwell's* services, and challenged for taking him away so soon. *Goodwin*, who had pretended to assure them in a prayer that he was not to die, which was but a very few minutes before he expired, had now the impudence to say to God, *thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived.* *Sterry*, praying for *Richard*, used those indecent words, next to blasphemy, *make him the brightness of the father's glory, and the express image of his person.* *Richard* was put on giving his father a pompous funeral, by which his debts encreased so upon him, that he was soon run out of all credit. When the Parliament met, his party tried to get a recognition of his Protectorship: But it soon appeared, they had no strength to carry it. *Fleetwood*, who married *Ireton's* Widow, set up a Council of Officers: And these resolved to lay aside *Richard*, who had neither genius nor friends, neither treasure nor Army to support him. He desired only security for the debts he had contracted; which was promised, but not performed. And so without any struggle he withdrew, and became a private man. And as he had done hurt to no body, so no body did ever study to hurt him, by a rare instance of the instability of human greatness, and of the security of innocence. His brother had been made by the father Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and had the most spirit of the two;

two; but he could not stand his ground, when his brother quitted his. One of *Cromwell's* daughters was married to *Claypole*, and died a little before himself: Another was married to the Earl of *Falconbridge*, a wise and worthy woman, more likely to have maintained the post than either of her brothers, according to a saying that went of her, that those who wore breeches deserved petticoats better, but if those in petticoats had been in breeches they would have held faster. The other daughter was married, first to the Earl of *Warwick's* heir, and afterwards to one *Russel*. They were both very worthy persons.

UPON *Richard's* leaving the stage, the Commonwealth was again set up: And the Parliament which *Cromwell* had broke was brought together: But the Army and they fell into new disputes: So they were again broke by the Army: And upon that the Nation was like to fall into great convulsions. The enthusiasts became very fierce, and talked of nothing but the destroying all the records and the law, which they said had been all made by a succession of Tyrants and Papists: So they resolved to model all anew by a levelling and a spiritual government of the Saints. There was so little sense in this, that *Nevil* and *Harington* with some others set up in *Westminster* a meeting to consider of a form of government that should secure liberty, and yet preserve the Nation. They ran chiefly on having a Parliament elected by ballot, in which the Nation should be represented according to the proportion of what was paid in taxes towards the publick expence: And by this Parlia-

Great disorders followed



ment a Council of twenty four was to be chosen by ballot: And every year eight of these were to be changed, and might not again be brought into it, but after an interval of three years: By these the Nation was to be governed: And they were to give an account of the administration to the Parliament every year. This meeting was a matter of diversion and scorn, to see a few persons take upon them to form a scheme of government: And it made many conclude, it was necessary to call home the King, that so matters might again fall into their old channel. *Lambert* became the man on whom the Army depended most. Upon his forcing the Parliament, great applications were made to *Monk* to declare for the Parliament: But under this the declaring for the King was generally understood. Yet he kept himself under such a reserve, that he declared all the while in the most solemn manner for a Commonwealth, and against a single person, in particular against the King: So that none had any ground from him to believe he had any design that way. Some have thought that he intended to try, if it was possible, to set up for himself: Others rather believed, that he had no settled design any way, and resolved to do as occasion should be offered to him. The *Scottish* Nation did certainly hope he would bring home the King. He drew the greatest part of the Army towards the borders, where *Lambert* advanced towards him with 7000 horse. *Monk* was stronger in foot: But being apprehensive of engaging on disadvantage, he sent *Clarges* to the Lord *Fairfax* for his advice and assistance, who returned answer by

Dr.

before the RESTORATION. 133

Dr. *Fairfax*, afterwards Secretary to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and assured him he would raise *Yorkshire* on the first of *January*. And he desired him to press upon *Lambert*, in case that he should send a detachment into *Yorkshire*. On the first of *January*, *Fairfax* appeared with about 100 gentlemen and their servants. But so much did he still maintain his great credit with the Army, that the night after the *Irish* Brigade, that consisted of 1200 horse and was the rear of *Lambert's* Army, came over to him. Upon that *Lambert* retreated, finding his Army was so little sure to him, and resolved to march back to *London*. He was followed by *Monk*, who when he came to *Yorkshire* met with *Fairfax*, and offered to resign the chief command to him. The Lord *Fairfax* refused it, but press'd *Monk* to declare for a free Parliament: Yet in that he was so reserved to him, that *Fairfax* knew not how to depend on him. But as *Lambert* was making haste up, his Army mouldered away, and he himself was brought up a prisoner, and was put in the Tower of *London*. Yet not long after he made his escape, and gathered a few troops about him in *Northamptonshire*. But these were soon scattered: For *Ingoldsby*, tho' one of the King's Judges, raised *Buckinghamshire* against him. And so little force seemed now in that party, that with very little opposition *Ingoldsby* took him prisoner, and brought him into *Northampton*: Where *Lambert*, as *Ingoldsby* told me, entertained him with a pleasant reflection for all his misfortunes. The people were in great crowds applauding and rejoicing for the success. So *Lambert* put *Ingoldsby* in mind of what *Crom-*

*well* had said to them both, near that very place, in the year 1650, when they with a body of the Officers were going down after their Army that was marching to *Scotland*, the people all the while shouting and wishing them success: *Lambert* upon that said to *Cromwell*, he was glad to see they had the Nation on their side: *Cromwell* answered, do not trust to that; for these very persons would shout as much if you and I were going to be hanged. *Lambert* said, he looked on himself as in a fair way to that, and began to think *Cromwell* prophesied.

UPON the dispersing of *Lambert's* Army, *Monk* marched southward, and was now the object of all men's hope. At *London* all sorts of people began to cabal together, Royalists, Presbyterians, and Republicans. *Hollis* told me, the Presbyterians pressed the Royalists to be quiet, and to leave the game in their hands; for their appearing would give jealousy, and hurt that which they meant to promote. He and *Asbly Cooper*, *Grimstone* and *Annesly*, met often with *Manchester*, *Roberts*, and the rest of the Presbyterian party: And the Ministers of *London* were very active in the City: So that when *Monk* came up, he was pressed to declare himself. At first he would only declare for the Parliament that *Lambert* had forced. But there was then a great fermentation all over the Nation. *Monk* and the Parliament grew jealous of one another, even while they tried who could give the best words, and express their confidence in the highest terms of one another. I will pursue the relation of this transaction no farther: For this matter is well known.

THE



before the RESTORATION. 135

THE King had gone in Autumn 1659 to the meeting at the *Pyrenees*, where Cardinal *Mazarin* and *Don Lewis de Haro* were negotiating a peace. He applied himself to both sides, to try what assistance he might expect upon their concluding the peace. It was then known, that he went to *Mas* sometimes, that so he might recommend himself the more effectually to both Courts: Yet this was carried secretly, and was confidently denied. *Mazarin* still talked to *Lockhart* upon the foot of the old confidence: For he went thither to watch over the treaty; tho' *England* was now in such convulsions, that no Minister from thence could be much considered, unless it was upon his own account. But matters were ripening so fast towards a revolution in *England*, that the King came back to *Flanders* in all haste, and went from thence to *Breda*. *Lockhart* had it in his power to have made a great fortune, if he had begun first, and had brought the King to *Dunkirk*. As soon as the peace of the *Pyrenees* was made, he came over and found *Monk* at *London*, and took all the pains he could to penetrate into his designs. But *Monk* continued still to protest to him in the solemnest manner possible, that he would be true to the Commonwealth, and against the Royal family. *Lockhart* went away, persuaded that matters would continue still in the same state: So that when his old friend *Middleton* writ to him to make his own terms, if he would invite the King to *Dunkirk*, he said, he was trusted by the Commonwealth, and could not betray it.

All turn  
to the  
King's  
side.

THE House of Commons put *Monk* on  
I 4 breaking

breaking the gates of the City of *London*, not doubting but that would render him so odious to them, that it would force him to depend wholly on themselves. He did it: And soon after he saw how odious he was become by it. So conceiving a high indignation at those who had put him on such an ungracious piece of service, he sent about all that night to the Ministers and other active citizens, assuring them that he would quickly repair that error, if they would forgive it. So the turn was sudden: For the City sent and invited him to dine the next day at *Guildhall*: And there he declared for the Members whom the Army had forced away in the year 47 and 48, who were known by the name of *secluded members*. And some happening to call the body that then sat at *Westminster* the Rump of a Parliament, a sudden humour run like a madness through the whole City, of roasting the Rumps of all sorts of animals. And thus the City expressed themselves sufficiently. Those at *Westminster* had no support: So they fell unpitied, and unregarded. The secluded Members came, and fate down among them. But all they could do was to give orders for the summoning a new Parliament to meet the first of *May*: And so they declared themselves dissolved.

Care  
taken to  
manage  
the Army

THERE was still a murmuring in the Army. So great care was taken to scatter them in wide quarters, and not to suffer too many of those who were still for the old cause to lie near one another. The well and the ill affected were so mixed, that in case of any insurrection some might be ready at hand to assist them. They changed

before the RESTORATION. 137

changed the Officers that were ill affected; who were not thought fit to be trusted with the commanding those of their own stamp; and so created a mistrust between the Officers and the souldiers. And above all they took care to have no more troops than was necessary about the City: And these were the best affected. This was managed with great diligence and skill: And by this conduct it was, that the great turn was brought about without the least tumult or bloodshed; which was beyond what any person could have imagined. Of all this *Monk* had both the praise and the reward; tho' I have been told a very small share of it belonged to him. Admiral *Montague* was then in chief command at sea, newly returned from the *Sound*, where he and *de Ruyter*, upon the orders they received from their Masters, had brought the two northern Kings to a peace, the King of *Sweden* dying as it was a making up. He was soon gained to be for the King; and dealt so effectually with the whole Fleet, that the turn there was as silently brought about, without any revolt or opposition, as it had been in the Army. The Republicans went about like madmen, to rouse up their party. But their time was past. All were either as men amazed or asleep. They had neither the skill, nor the courage to make any opposition. The elections of Parliament men run all the other way. So they saw their business was quite lost, and they felt themselves struck as with a spirit of giddiness. And then every man thought only how to save or secure himself. And now they saw how deceitful the argument from success was, which



they had used so oft, and triumphed so much upon. For whereas success in the field, which was the foundation of their argument, depended much upon the conduct and courage of Armies, in which the will of man had a large share, here was a thing of another nature: A Nation, that had run on long in such a fierce opposition to the Royal family, was now turned as one man to call home the King.

THE Nation had one great happiness during the long course of the civil war, that no foreigners had got footing among them. *Spain* was sinking to nothing: *France* was under a base spirited Minister: And both were in war all the while. Now a peace was made between them. And very probably, according to what is in *Mazarin's* letters, they would have joined forces to have restored the King. The Nation was by this means entirely in its own hands: And now returning to its wits was in a condition to put every thing in joint again: Whereas, if foreigners had been possessed of any important place, they might have had a large share of the management, and would have been sure of taking care of themselves. Enthusiasm was now languid: For that owing its mechanical force to the liveliness of the blood and spirits, men in disorder and depressed could not raise in themselves those heats, with which they were formerly wont to transport both themselves and others. Chancellour *Hilde* was all this while very busy: He sent over Dr. *Morley*, who talked much with the Presbyterians of moderation in general, but would enter into no particulars. Only he took care

*before the* RESTORATION. 139

to let them know he was a *Calvinist*: And they had the best opinion of such of the Church of *England* as were of that persuasion. *Hide* wrote in the King's name to all the leading men, and got the King to write a great many letters in a very obliging manner. Some that had been faulty sent over considerable presents, with assurances that they would redeem all that was past with their zeal for the future. These were all accepted of. Their money was also very welcome; for the King needed money when his matters were on that crisis and he had so many tools at work. The management of all this was so entirely the Chancellor's single performance, that there was scarce any other that had so much as a share in it with him. He kept a register of all the King's promises, and of his own; and did all that lay in his power afterwards to get them all to be performed. He was also all that while giving the King many wise and good advices. But he did it too much with the air of a Governour, or of a lawyer. Yet then the King was wholly in his hands.

I need not open the scene of the new Parliament, (or Convention, as it came afterwards to be called, because it was not summoned by the King's writ:) Such unanimity appeared in their proceedings, that there was not the least dispute among them, but upon one single point: Yet that was a very important one. *Hale*, afterwards the famous Chief Justice, moved that a Committee might be appointed to look into the propositions that had been made, and the concessions that had been offered by the late

A new  
Parliament.

late King during the war, particularly at the treaty of *Newport*, that from thence they might digest such propositions as they should think fit to be sent over to the King. This was seconded, but I do not remember by whom. It was foreseen, that such a motion might be set on foot: So *Monk* was instructed how to answer it, whensoever it should be proposed. He told the House, that there was yet, beyond all mens hope, an universal quiet all over the Nation; but there were many incendiaries still on the watch, trying where they could first raise the flame. He said, he had such copious informations sent him of these things, that it was not fit they should be generally known: He could not answer for the peace, either of the Nation or of the Army, if any delay was put to the sending for the King: What need was there of sending propositions to him? Might they not as well prepare them, and offer them to him, when he should come over? He was to bring neither Army nor treasure with him, either to fright them or to corrupt them. So he moved, that they would immediately send commissioners to bring over the King: And said, that he must lay the blame of all the blood or mischief that might follow on the heads of those, who should still insist on any motion that might delay the present settlement of the Nation. This was echo'd with such a shout over the House, that the motion was no more insisted on.

They  
called  
home  
the King  
without  
a treaty.

THIS was indeed the great service that *Monk* did. It was chiefly owing to the post he was in, and to the credit he had gained: For



as to the Restoration itself, the tide run so strong, that he only went into it dexterously enough, to get much fame, and great rewards, for that which will have still a great appearance in history. If he had died soon after, he might have been more justly admired, because less known, and seen only in one advantageous light; But he lived long enough to make it known, how false a judgment men are apt to make upon outward appearance. To the King's coming in without conditions may be well imputed all the errors of his reign. And when the Earl of Southampton came to see what he was like to prove, he said once in great wrath to Chancellour *Hide*, it was to him they owed all they either felt or feared; for if he had not possessed them in all his letters with such an opinion of the King, they would have taken care to have put it out of his power either to do himself or them any mischief, which was like to be the effect of their trusting him so entirely. *Hide* answered, that he thought the King had so true a judgment, and so much good nature, that when the age of pleasure should be over, and the idleness of his exile, which made him seek new diversions for want of other employment, was turned to an obligation to mind affairs, then he would have shaken off those entanglements. I must put my reader in mind, that I leave all common transactions to ordinary books. If at any time I say things that occur in any books, it is partly to keep the thread of the narration in an untangled method, and partly, because I neither have heard nor read those things

in

in books; or at least I do not remember to have read them so clearly and so particularly as I have related them. I now leave a mad and confused scene, to open a more august and splendid one.

It is not in my power to give a more full and accurate account of the reign of Louis XIV. than I have already given. I have only in one advantage, I know, how false a judgment men are apt to make upon outward appearance. To the king's coming in without conditions may be well imputed all the errors of his reign. And when the Earl of Shaftesbury came to be what he was like to prove, he said once in great wrath to the king, it was to him they owed all that was done; for if he had not been so, his letters with such an opinion, they would have taken care to have put out of his power or either to do himself or them any mischief, which was like to be the effect of their trusting him so entirely. And answered, that he thought he had had to do a judgment, and to much good nature, that what the age of pleasure should be over, and the selfishness of his case, which made him feel now divided for want of other employment, was turned to an obligation to him, then he would have taken off his crown and put it on my reader in mind, that I leave all common transactions to ordinary books. At any time I say things that occur in my books, I am partly to keep the mind of the nation in an unimpaired method, and partly, because I never have heard nor read those things

THE



CHARLES ARBOND

er to  
larly  
mad  
ngut  
time  
might  
let  
about  
in  
to  
Kings  
well  
when  
what  
great  
they  
he  
such  
have  
er  
which  
thin  
he  
much  
black  
his  
hope  
to  
world  
much  
com  
at  
in  
the





TO THE  
HONORABLE  
SIR

H

TO THE  
HONORABLE  
SIR

M



TO THE  
HONORABLE  
SIR

Of the  
King  
the

the

I D

bo  
of  
al

book:

since as

the affa

had on

of Eng

# THE HISTORY OF MY OWN TIMES.

## BOOK II.

*Of the first twelve years of the reign of  
King Charles II. from the year 1660 to  
the year 1673.*

**I** DIVIDE King Charles's reign into two books, not so much because, consisting 1660.  
of twenty four years, it fell, if divided at  
all, naturally to put twelve years in a  
book: But I have a much better reason for it,  
since as to the first twelve years, tho' I knew  
the affairs of *Scotland* very authentically, yet I  
had only such a general knowledge of the affairs  
of *England* as I could pick up at a distance:  
Whereas

1660.

Whereas I lived so near the scene, and had indeed such a share in several parts of it, during the last twelve years, that I can write of these with much more certainty, as well as more fully, than of the first twelve. I will therefore enlarge more particularly, within the compass that I have fixed for this book, on the affairs of *Scotland*; both out of the inbred love that all men have for their native country, and more particularly, that I may leave some useful instructions to those of my own order and profession by representing to them the conduct of the Bishops of *Scotland*: For having observed with more than ordinary niceness all the errors that were committed, both at the first setting up of Episcopacy, and in the whole progress of its continuance in *Scotland* till it was again overturned there, I am enabled to set all that matter in a full view and in a clear light.

Many  
went  
over to  
the  
*Hague*.

AS soon as it was fixed that the King was to be restored, a great many went over to make their court: Among these *Sharp*, who was employed by the resolutioners of *Scotland*, was one. He carried with him a letter from the Earl of *Glencairn* to *Hide*, made soon after Earl of *Clarendon*, recommending him as the only person capable to manage the design of setting up Episcopacy in *Scotland*: Upon which he was received into great confidence. Yet, as he had observed very carefully the success of *Monk's* solemn protestations against the King and for a Commonwealth, it seems he was so pleased with the original that he resolved to copy after it, without letting himself be diverted from it by scruples: For he stuck neither at solemn protestations,



testations, both by word of mouth and by letters, (of which I have seen many proofs,) nor at appeals to God of his sincerity in acting for the Presbytery both in prayers and on other occasions; joining with these many dreadful imprecations on himself if he did prevaricate. He was all the while maintained by the Presbyterians as their Agent, and continued to give them a constant account of the progress of his negotiation in their service, while he was indeed undermining it. This piece of craft was so visible, he having repeated his protestations to as many persons as then grew jealous of him, that when he threw off the mask, about a year after this, it laid a foundation of such a character of him, that nothing could ever bring people to any tolerable thoughts of a man, whose dissimulation and treachery was so well known, and of which so many proofs were to be seen under his own hand.

WITH the Restoration of the King a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the Nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very professions of vertue and piety: All ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which over-run the three Kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the colour of drinking the King's health, there were great disorders and much riot every where: And the pretences of religion, both in those of the hypocritical sort, and of the more honest but no less pernicious enthusiasts, gave great advantages, as well as they furnished much matter, to the prophane mockers of true piety. Those who had been concerned in the former

The Nation was overrun with vice and drunkenness.

K trans-

1660.

The  
King's  
character

transactions thought, they could not redeem themselves, from the censures and jealousies that those brought on them, by any method that was more sure and more easy, than by going into the stream, and laughing at all religion, telling or making stories to expose both themselves and their party as impious and ridiculous.

THE King was then thirty years of age, and, as might have been supposed, past the levities of youth and the extravagance of pleasure. He had a very good understanding. He knew well the state of affairs both at home and abroad. He had a softness of temper that charmed all who came near him, till they found how little they could depend on good looks, kind words, and fair promises; in which he was liberal to excess, because he intended nothing by them, but to get rid of importunities, and to silence all farther pressing upon him. He seemed to have no sense of religion: Both at prayers and Sacrament he, as it were, took care to satisfy people, that he was in no sort concerned in that about which he was employed. So that he was very far from being an hypocrite, unless his assisting at those performances was a sort of hypocrisy, (as no doubt it was:) But he was sure not to encrease that by any the least appearance of religion. He said once to my self, he was no Atheist, but he could not think God would make a man miserable only for taking a little pleasure out of the way. He disguised his Popery to the last. But when he talked freely he could not help letting himself out against the liberty that under the Reformation all men took of enquiring into matters of religion: For from

then

their enquiring into matters of religion they carried the humour farther, to enquire into matters of state. He said often, he thought government was a much safer and easier thing where the authority was believed infallible, and the faith and submission of the people was implicate: About which I had once much discourse with him. He was affable and easy, and loved to be made so by all about him. The great art of keeping him long was, the being easy, and the making every thing easy to him. He had made such observations on the *French* government, that he thought a King who might be checkt, or have his Ministers called to an account by a Parliament, was but a King in name. He had much compass of knowledge, tho' he was never capable of much application or study. He understood the Mechanicks and Physick; and was a good Chymist, and much set on several preparations of Mercury, chiefly the fixing it. He understood navigation well: But above all he knew the architecture of ships so perfectly, that in that respect he was exact rather more than became a Prince. His apprehension was quick, and his memory good. He was an everlasting talker. He told his stories with a good grace: But they came in his way too often. He had a very ill opinion both of men and women; and did not think that there was either sincerity or chastity in the world out of principle, but that some had either the one or the other out of humour or vanity. He thought that no body did serve him out of love: And so he was quits with all the world, and loved others as little as he thought they loved him. He hated busi-



1660.

ness, and could not be easily brought to mind any: But when it was necessary, and he was set to it, he would stay as long as his Ministers had work for him. The ruine of his reign, and of all his affairs, was occasioned chiefly by his delivering himself up at his first coming over to a mad range of pleasure. One of the race of the *Villers*, then married to *Palmer*, a Papist, soon after made Earl of *Castlemain*, who afterwards being separated from him was advanced to be Duchess of *Cleveland*, was his first and longest mistress, by whom he had five children. She was a woman of great beauty, but most enormously vicious and ravenous; foolish but imperious, very uneasy to the King, and always carrying on intrigues with other men, while yet she pretended she was jealous of him. His passion for her and her strange behaviour towards him, did so disorder him, that often he was not master of himself, nor capable of minding business, which in so critical a time required great application: But he did then so entirely trust the Earl of *Clarendon*, that he left all to his care, and submitted to his advices as to so many oracles.

*Clarendon's  
character*

THE Earl of *Clarendon* was bred to the Law, and was like to grow eminent in his profession when the wars began. He distinguished himself so in the House of Commons, that he became considerable, and was much trusted all the while the King was at *Oxford*. He stayed beyond sea following the King's fortune till the Restoration; and was now an absolute Favourite, and the chief or the only Minister, but with too magisterial a way. He was always pressing



**EDWARD COMTE DE CLARENDON**  
*Grand Chancelier d'Angleterre & Chancelier de  
 l'Université d'Oxford*



preff  
vain  
little  
mini  
unde  
medd  
levity  
the d  
was  
thofe  
had f  
were  
advif  
and o  
witho  
enem  
tho' t  
ting o  
King  
up by  
Th  
the D  
for a  
wit,  
exper  
ways  
gone  
more  
treaty  
great  
adher  
tion o  
the ap  
in wh  
bound



pressing the King to mind his affairs, but in vain. He was a good Chancellour, only a little too rough, but very impartial in the administration of justice. He never seemed to understand foreign affairs well: And yet he meddled too much in them. He had too much levity in his wit, and did not always observe the decorum of his post. He was high, and was apt to reject with too much contempt those who addressed themselves to him. He had such a regard to the King, that when places were disposed of, even otherwise than as he advised, yet he would justify what the King did, and disparage the pretensions of others, not without much scorn; which created him many enemies. He was indefatigable in business, tho' the gout did often disable him from waiting on the King: Yet, during his credit, the King came constantly to him when he was laid up by it.

THE next man in favour with the King was the Duke of *Ormond*: A man every way fitted for a Court: Of a graceful appearance, a lively wit, and a cheerful temper: A man of great expence, decent even in his vices, for he always kept up the form of religion. He had gone through many transactions in *Ireland* with more fidelity than success. He had made a treaty with the *Irish*, which was broken by the great body of them, tho' some few of them adhered still to him. But the whole *Irish* Nation did still pretend that, tho' they had broke the agreement first, yet he, or rather the King in whose name he had treated with them, was bound to perform all the articles of the treaty.

*Ormond's*  
character

He had miscarried so in the siege of *Dublin*, that it very much lessened the opinion of his military conduct. Yet his constant attendance on his master, his easiness to him, and his great sufferings for him, raised him to be Lord Steward of the Household, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. He was firm to the Protestant Religion, and so far firm to the laws, that he always gave good advices: But when bad ones were followed, he was not for complaining too much of them,

South-  
ampton's  
character

THE Earl of *Southampton* was next to these. He was a man of great virtue, and of very good parts. He had a lively apprehension, and a good judgment. He had merited much by his constant adhering to the King's interest during the war, and by the large supplies he had sent him every year during his exile, for he had a great estate, and only three daughters to inherit it. He was Lord Treasurer: But he grew soon weary of business; for as he was subject to the stone, which returned often and violently upon him, so he retained the principles of liberty, and did not go into the violent measures of the Court. When he saw the King's temper, and his way of managing, or rather of spoiling business, he grew very uneasy, and kept himself more out of the way than was consistent with that high post. The King stood in some awe of him; and saw how popular he would grow, if put out of his service: And therefore he chose rather to bear with his ill humour and contradiction, than to dismiss him. He left the business of the treasury wholly in the hands of his secretary, *Sir Philip Warwick*, who was an honest

but

but a weak man; understood the common road of the treasury, he was an incorrupt man, and during seven years management of the treasury made but an ordinary fortune out of it. Before the Restoration the Lord Treasurer had but a small salary, with an allowance for a table; but he gave, or rather sold, all the subaltern places, and made great profits out of the estate of the Crown: But now, that estate being gone, and the Earl of *Southampton* disdaining to sell places, the matter was settled so, that the Lord Treasurer was to have 8000 *l.* a year, and the King was to name all the subaltern Officers. It continued to be so all his time: But since that time the Lord Treasurer has both the 8000 *l.* and a main hand in the disposing of those places.

THE man that was in the greatest credit with the Earl of *Southampton* was Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, who had married his niece, and became afterwards so considerable that he was raised to be Earl of *Shaftsbury*. And since he came to have so great a name, and that I knew him for many years in a very particular manner, I will dwell a little longer on his character; for it was of a very extraordinary composition. He began to make a considerable figure very early. Before he was twenty he came into the House of Commons, and was on the King's side; and undertook to get *Wiltshire* and *Dorsetshire* to declare for him: But he was not able to effect it. Yet Prince *Maurice* breaking articles to a town, that he had got to receive him, furnished him with an excuse to forsake that side, and to turn to the Parliament. He had a wonderful faculty in speaking to a popu-

*Shaftsbury's*  
character



1660.

lar assembly, and could mix both the facetious and the serious way of arguing very agreeably. He had a particular talent to make others trust to his judgment, and depend on it: And he brought over so many to a submission to his opinion, that I never knew any man equal to him in the art of governing parties, and of making himself the head of them. He was as to religion a Deist at best: He had the dotage of Astrology in him to a high degree: He told me, that a *Dutch* Doctor had from the stars foretold him the whole series of his life. But that which was before him, when he told me this, proved false, if he told me true: For he said, he was yet to be a greater man than he had been. He fancied, that after death our souls lived in stars. He had a general knowledge of the slighter parts of learning, but understood little to the bottom: So he triumphed in a rambling way of talking, but argued slightly when he was held close to any point. He had a wonderful faculty at opposing, and running things down; but had not the like force in building up. He had such an extravagant vanity in setting himself out, that it was very disagreeable. He pretended that *Cromwell* offered to make him King. He was indeed of great use to him in withstanding the enthusiasts of that time. He was one of those who press'd him most to accept of the Kingship, because, as he said afterwards, he was sure it would ruin him. His strength lay in the knowledge of *England*, and of all the considerable men in it. He understood well the size of their understandings, and their tempers: And he knew how

to apply himself to them so dextrously, that, tho' by his changing sides so often it was very visible how little he was to be depended on, yet he was to the last much trusted by all the discontented party. He was not ashamed to reckon up the many turns he had made: And he valued himself on the doing it at the properest season, and in the best manner. This he did with so much vanity, and so little discretion, that he lost many by it. And his reputation was at last run so low, that he could not have held much longer, had he not died in good time, either for his family or for his party: The former would have been ruined, if he had not saved it by betraying the latter.

ANOTHER man, very near of the same sort, who passed thro' many great employments, was *Annesly*, advanced to be Earl of *Anglesey*; who had much more knowledge, and was very learned, chiefly in the law. He had the faculty of speaking indefatigably upon every subject: But he spoke ungracefully; and did not know that he was not good at raillery, for he was always attempting it. He understood our government well, and had examined far into the original of our constitution. He was capable of great application: And was a man of a grave deportment, but stuck at nothing, and was ashamed of nothing. He was neither loved nor trusted by any man or any side: And he seemed to have no regard to common decencies: But sold every thing that was in his power: And sold himself so often, that at last the price fell so low, that he grew useless.

*Anglesey's character.*

*HOLLIS* was a man of great courage, and

*Hollis's character*

1660.

of as great pride: He was counted for many years the head of the Presbyterian party. He was faithful and firm to his side, and never changed thro' the whole course of his life. He engaged in a particular opposition to *Cromwell* in the time of the war. They hated one another equally. *Hollis* seemed to carry this too far: For he would not allow *Cromwell* to have been either wise or brave; but often applied *Solomon's* observation to him, *that the battle was not to the strong, nor favour to the man of understanding, but that time and chance happened to all men.* He was well versed in the records of Parliament: And argued well, but too vehemently; for he could not bear contradiction. He had the soul of an old stubborn *Roman* in him. He was a faithful but a rough friend, and a severe but fair enemy. He had a true sense of religion: And was a man of an unblamable course of life, and of a sound judgment when it was not biassed by passion. He was made a Lord for his merits in bringing about the Restoration.

*Manchester's*  
character

*Roberts's*  
character

THE Earl of *Manchester* was made Lord Chamberlain: A man of a soft and obliging temper, of no great depth, but universally beloved, being both a vertuous and a generous man. The Lord *Roberts* was made Lord Privy Seal, afterwards Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and at last Lord President of the Council. He was a man of a more morose and cynical temper, just in his administration, but vicious under the appearances of vertue: Learned beyond any man of his quality, but intractable, stiff and obstinate, proud and jealous.

THESE



THESE five, whom I have named last, had the chief hand in engaging the Nation in the design of the Restoration. They had great credit, chiefly with the Presbyterian party, and were men of much dexterity. So the thanks of that great turn was owing to them: And they were put in great posts by the Earl of *Clarendon's* means. By which he lost most of the Cavaliers, who could not bear the seeing such men so highly advanced, and so much trusted.

AT the King's first coming over, *Monk* and *Mountague* were the most considered. They both had the Garter. The one was made Duke of *Albemarle*, and the other Earl of *Sandwich*, and had noble estates given them. *Monk* was rayenous, as well as his wife, who was a mean contemptible creature. They both asked, and sold all that was within their reach, nothing being denied them for some time; till he became so useless, that little personal regard could be paid him. But the King maintained still the appearances of it: For the appearance of the service he did him was such, that the King thought it fit to treat him with great distinction, even after he saw into him, and despised him. He took care to raise his kinsman *Greenwill*, who was made Earl of *Bath* and Groom of the Stole, a man who thought of nothing but of getting and spending money. The Duke of *Albemarle* raised two other persons. One was *Clarges*. his wife's brother, who was an honest but haughty man. He became afterwards a very considerable Parliament man, and valued himself on his opposing the Court, and on his frugality in managing the publick money; for he had

*Clarges's*  
character

1660.

*Morrice's  
character*

had *Cromwell's* oeconomy ever in his mouth, and was always for reducing the expence of war to the modesty and parsimony of those times. Many thought he carried this too far: But it made him very popular. After he was become very rich himself by the publick money, he seemed to take care that no body else should grow as rich as he was in that way. Another man raised by the Duke of *Albemarle* was *Morrice*, who was the person that had prevailed with *Monk* to declare for the King. Upon that he was made Secretary of State. He was very learned, but full of pedantry and affectation. He had no true judgment about foreign affairs. And the Duke of *Albemarle's* judgment of them may be measured by what he said, when he found the King grew weary of *Morrice*, but in regard to him had no mind to turn him out; He did not know what was necessary for a good Secretary of State in which he was defective, for he could speak *French* and write short hand.

*Nicolas's  
character*

*NICOLAS* was the other Secretary, who had been employed by King *Charles* the first during the war, and had served him faithfully, but had no understanding in foreign affairs. He was a man of virtue, but could not fall into the King's temper, or become acceptable to him. So not long after the Restoration, *Bennet*, advanced afterwards to be Earl of *Arlington*, was by the interest of the Popish party made Secretary of State; and was admitted into so particular a confidence, that he began to raise a party in opposition to the Earl of *Clarendon*. He was a proud man. His parts were solid, but not quick. He

*Arlington's  
character*

He had the art of observing the King's temper, and managing it beyond all the men of that time. He was believed a Papist. He had once professed it: And when he died, he again reconciled himself to that Church. Yet in the whole course of his ministry, he seemed to have made it a maxim, that the King ought to shew no favour to Popery, but that all his affairs would be spoiled if ever he turned that way; which made the Papists become his mortal enemies, and accuse him as an apostate, and the betrayer of their interest. His chief friend was *Charles Berkeley*, made Earl of *Falmouth*, who without any visible merit, unless it was the managing the King's amours, was the most absolute of all the King's favourites: And, which was peculiar to himself, he was as much in the Duke of *York*'s favour as in the King's. *Berkley* was generous in his expence: And it was thought, if he had outlived the lewdness of that time, and come to a more sedate course of life, he would have put the King on great and noble designs. This I should have thought more likely, if I had not had it from the Duke, who had so wrong a taste, that there was reason to suspect his judgment both of men and things. *Bennet* and *Berkeley* had the management of the Mistress. And all the Earl of *Clarendon*'s enemies came about them: The chief of whom were the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Bristol*.

THE first of these was a man of a noble presence. He had a great liveliness of wit, and a peculiar faculty of turning all things into ridicule with bold figures and natural descriptions. He had no sort of literature: Only he

*Buckingham's*  
character

was



1660.

was drawn into chymistry: And for some years he thought he was very near finding the philosopher's stone; which had the effect that attends on all such men as he was, when they are drawn in to lay out for it. He had no principles of religion, virtue, or friendship. Pleasure, frolick, or extravagant diversion was all that he laid to heart. He was true to nothing, for he was not true to himself. He had no steadiness nor conduct: He could keep no secret, nor execute any design without spoiling it. He could never fix his thoughts, nor govern his estate, tho' then the greatest in *England*. He was bred about the King: And for many years he had a great ascendent over him: But he spake of him to all persons with that contempt, that at last he drew a lasting disgrace upon himself. And he at length ruined both body and mind, fortune and reputation equally. The madness of vice appeared in his person in very eminent instances; since at last he became contemptible and poor, sickly, and sunk in his parts, as well as in all other respects, so that his conversation was as much avoided as ever it had been courted. He found the King, when he came from his travels in the year 1645, newly come to *Paris*, sent over by his father when his affairs declined: And finding the King enough inclined to receive ill impressions, he, who was then got into all the impities and vices of the age, set himself to corrupt the King, in which he was too successful, being seconded in that wicked design by the Lord *Percy*. And to compleat the matter, *Hobbs* was brought to him, under the pretence of instructing him in mathematicks:

matick  
both  
which  
King  
King  
owing  
TH  
and le  
wit, l  
was in  
*Oxford*  
possibi  
fancy  
men fo  
them,  
confide  
though  
ble and  
turned  
own:  
betwee  
He wa  
was to  
at the  
lent en  
HA  
cessary  
Ministr  
account  
parties  
Earl o  
had bee  
But in  
King's  
all the

maticks: And he laid before him his schemes, 1660.  
both with relation to religion and politicks,  
which made deep and lasting impressions on the  
King's mind. So that the main blame of the  
King's ill principles, and bad morals, was  
owing to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

THE Earl of *Bristol* was a man of courage *Bristol's*  
and learning, of a bold temper and a lively character  
wit, but of no judgment nor steadiness. He  
was in the Queen's interest during the war at  
*Oxford*. And he studied to drive things past the  
possibility of a treaty, or any reconciliation;  
fancying that nothing would make the military  
men so sure to the King, as his being sure to  
them, and giving them hopes of sharing the  
confiscated estates among them; whereas he  
thought, all discourses of treaty made them fee-  
ble and fearful. When he went beyond sea he  
turned Papist. But it was after a way of his  
own: For he loved to magnify the difference  
between the Church and the Court of *Rome*.  
He was esteemed a very good speaker: But he  
was too copious, and too florid. He was set  
at the head of the popish party, and was a vio-  
lent enemy of the Earl of *Clarendon*.

HAVING now said as much as seems ne-  
cessary to describe the state of the Court and  
Ministry at the Restoration, I will next give an  
account of the chief of the *Scots*, and of the  
parties that were formed among them. The  
Earl of *Landerdale*, afterwards made Duke,  
had been for many years a zealous Covenanter:  
But in the year forty seven he turned to the  
King's interests; and had continued a prisoner  
all the while after *Worcester* fight, where he

was

*Lander-  
dale's*  
character

1600. was taken. He was kept for some years in the tower of *London*, in *Portland* castle, and in other prisons, till he was set at liberty by those who called home the King. So he went over to *Holland*. And since he continued so long, and contrary to all mens opinions in so high a degree of favour and confidence, it may be expected that I should be a little copious in setting out his character; for I knew him very particularly. He made a very ill appearance: He was very big: His hair red, hanging oddly about him: His tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to: And his whole manner was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a Court. He was very learned, not only in *Latin*, in which he was a master, but in *Greek* and *Hebrew*. He had read a great deal of Divinity, and almost all the Historians ancient and modern: So that he had great materials. He had with these an extraordinary memory, and a copious but unpolished expression. He was a man, as the Duke of *Buckingham* called him to me, of a blundering understanding. He was haughty beyond expression, abject to those he saw he must stoop to, but imperious to all others. He had a violence of passion that carried him often to fits like madness, in which he had no temper. If he took a thing wrong, it was a vain thing to study to convince him: That would rather provoke him to swear he would never be of another mind: He was to be let alone: And perhaps he would have forgot what he had said, and come about of his own accord. He was the coldest friend and the violentest enemy I



ever knew: I felt it too much not to know it. He at first seemed to despise wealth: But he delivered himself up afterwards to luxury and sensuality: And by that means he ran into a vast expence, and stuck at nothing that was necessary to support it. In his long imprisonment he had great impressions of religion on his mind: But he wore these out so entirely, that scarce any trace of them was left. His great experience in affairs, his ready compliance with every thing that he thought would please the King, and his bold offering at the most desperate counsels, gained him such an interest in the King, that no attempt against him nor complaint of him could ever shake it, till a decay of strength and understanding forced him to let go his hold. He was in his principles much against Popery and arbitrary government: And yet by a fatal train of passions and interests, he made way for the former, and had almost established the latter. And, whereas some by a smooth deportment made the first beginnings of tyranny less discernible and unacceptable, he by the fury of his behaviour heightened the severity of his ministry, which was liker the cruelty of an inquisition than the legality of justice. With all this he was a Presbyterian, and retained his aversion to King Charles I. and his party to his death.

THE Earl of Crawford had been his fellow prisoner for ten years. And that was a good title for maintaining him in the post he had before, of being Lord Treasurer. He was a sincere but weak man, passionate and indiscreet, and continued still a zealous Presbyterian.

L

The

Craw-  
ford's  
character

1660.

*Roth's  
character*

The Earl, afterwards Duke of *Roths*, had married his Daughter, and had the merit of a long imprisonment likewise to recommend him. He had a ready dexterity in the management of affairs, with a soft and insinuating address: He had a quick apprehension with a clear judgment. He had no advantage of education, no sort of literature: Nor had he travelled abroad: All in him was mere nature.

*Tweed-  
dale's  
character*

THE Earl of *Tweeddale* was another of Lord *Lauderdale's* friends. He was early engaged in business, and continued in it to a great age. He understood all the interests and concerns of *Scotland* well: He had a great stock of knowledge, with a mild and obliging temper. He was of a blameless, or rather an exemplary life in all respects. He had loose thoughts both of civil and ecclesiastical government; and seemed to think, that what form soever was uppermost was to be complied with. He had been in *Cromwell's* Parliament, and had abjured the Royal Family, which lay heavy on him. But the disputes about the guardianship of the Duchess of *Monmouth* and her elder sister, to which he pretended in the right of his wife, who was their father's sister, against her mother who was Lord *Roths's* sister, drew him into that compliance which brought a great cloud upon him. Tho' he was in all other respects one of the ablest and worthiest of the nobility: Only he was too cautious and fearful.

*D. Hamilton's  
character*

A son of the Marquis of *Douglas*, made Earl of *Selkirk*, had married the Heiress of the family of *Hamilton*, who by her father's patent was Duchess of *Hamilton*: And when the Heiress of

a title in *Scotland* marries one not equal to her  
in rank; it is ordinary at her desire to give  
her husband the title for life: So he was made  
Duke of *Hamilton*. He then pass'd for a soft  
man, who minded nothing but the recovery  
of that family from the great debts under which  
it was sinking, till it was raised up again by  
his great management. After he had compassed  
that, he became a more considerable man. He  
wanted all sort of polishing: He was rough  
and sullen, but candid and sincere. His temper  
was boisterous, neither fit to submit nor to go-  
vern. He was mutinous when out of power,  
and imperious in it. He wrote well, but spoke  
ill: For his judgment when calm, was better  
than his imagination. He made himself a great  
master in the knowledge of the laws, of the  
history, and of the families of *Scotland*; and  
seemed always to have a regard to justice, and  
the good of his country: But a narrow and sel-  
fish temper brought such an habitual meanness  
on him, that he was not capable of designing  
or undertaking great things.

ANOTHER man of that side, that made a  
good figure at that time, was *Bruce*, after-  
wards Earl of *Kincairdin*, who had married a  
daughter of Mr. *Somelsdyck* in *Holland*: And by  
that means he had got acquaintance with our  
Princes beyond sea, and had supplied them li-  
berally in their necessities. He was both the  
wisest and the worthiest man that belonged to  
his country, and fit for governing any affairs  
but his own; which he by a wrong turn, and  
by his love for the publick, neglected to his  
ruin; for they consisting much in salt-works,

*Kincair-  
din's  
character*



1660.

and coal-mines, required much care; and he was very capable of it, having gone far in mathematics, and being a great master of mechanics. His thoughts went slow, and his words came much slower: But a deep judgment appeared in every thing he said or did. He had a noble zeal for justice, in which even friendship could never bias him. He had solid principles of religion and virtue, which shewed themselves with great lustre on all occasions. He was a faithful friend, and a merciful enemy. I may be perhaps inclined to carry his character too far, for he was the first man that entred into friendship with me. We continued for seventeen years in so entire a friendship, that there was never either reserve or mistake between us all the while till his death. And it was from him that I understood the whole secret of affairs; for he was trusted with every thing. He had a wonderful love to the King: and would never believe me, when I warned him, what he might look for, if he did not go along with an abject compliance in every thing. He found it true in conclusion. And the love he bore the King made his disgrace sink deeper in him, than became such a Philosopher, or so good a Christian as he was.

I now turn to another set of men, of whom the Earls of *Middleton* and *Glencairn* were the chief. They were followed by the herd of the Cavalier party, who were now very fierce and full of courage over their cups, tho' they had been very discreet managers of it in the field, and in time of action. But now every one of them boasted that he had killed his thousands.

And

The  
general  
character  
of the  
old Ca-  
valiers.

And  
preten-  
revent  
tilest  
Archbi-  
practi-  
the Ca-  
one,  
He wa-  
ways  
had an  
their f-  
crets v-  
went  
thing  
spoke  
in so g-  
heart.  
slow n-  
that a  
family  
him; f-  
that he  
for too  
advised  
the Ki-  
tually,  
farther  
ther fr-  
tho' P-  
ging a  
made t-  
ral: F-  
man of  
except

And all were full of merit, and as full of high pretensions; far beyond what all the wealth and revenues of Scotland could answer. The subtlest of all Lord Middleton's friends was Sir

*Archibald Primrose*: A man of long and great practice in affairs; for he and his father had served the Crown successively an hundred years all but one, when he was turned out of employment.

*Prime-rose's character*

He was a dextrous man in business: He had always expedients ready at every difficulty. He had an art of speaking to all men according to their sense of things: And so drew out their secrets while he concealed his own: For words went for nothing with him. He said every thing that was necessary to persuade those he spoke to, that he was of their mind; and did it in so genuine a way that he seemed to speak his heart. He was always for soft counsels, and slow methods: And thought that the chief thing that a great man ought to do was, to raise his family and his kindred, who naturally stick to him; for he had seen so much of the world, that he did not depend much on friends, and so took no care in making any. He always advised the Earl of Middleton to go slowly in the King's business; but to do his own effectually, before the King should see he had no farther occasion for him. That Earl had another friend, who had more credit with him, tho' *Primrose* was more necessary for managing a Parliament: He was Sir *John Fletcher*, made the King's Advocate or Attorney General: For *Nicolson* was dead. *Fletcher* was a man of a generous temper, who despised wealth, except as it was necessary to support a vast ex-

*Fletcher's character*

1660.

pence. He was a bold and fierce man, who hated all mild proceedings, and could scarce speak with decency or patience to those of the other side. So that he was looked on by all that had been faulty in the late times, as an Inquisitor General. On the other hand *Primerose* took money liberally, and was an intercessor for all who made such effectual applications to him.

Advices  
offered  
in Scot-  
tish af-  
fairs.

THE first thing that was to be thought on, with relation to *Scottish* affairs, was the manner in which offenders in the late times were to be treated: For all were at mercy. In the letter the King writ from *Breda* to the Parliament of *England*, he had promised a full indemnity for all that was past, excepting only those who had been concerned in his father's death: To which the Earl of *Clarendon* persuaded the King to adhere in a most sacred manner; since the breaking of faith in such a point was that which must for ever destroy confidence, and the observing all such promises seemed to be a fundamental maxim in government, which was to be maintained in such a manner, that not so much as a stretch was to be made in it. But there was no promise made for *Scotland*: So all the Cavaliers, as they were full of revenge, hoped to have the estates of those who had been concerned in the late wars, divided among them. The Earl of *Lauderdale* told the King, on the other hand, that the *Scottish* nation had turned eminently, tho' unfortunately, to serve his father in the year forty eight; that they had brought himself among them; had lost two Armies in his service; had been under nine years

For a  
general  
indem-  
nity.

op-



oppression on that account; & that they had encouraged and assisted *Monk* in all he did: They might be therefore highly disgusted, if they should not have the same measure of grace and pardon that he was to give *England*. Besides, the King, while he was in *Scotland*, had in the Parliament of *Sterling* pass'd a very full act of indemnity, tho' in the terms and with the title of an act of approbation. It is true, the records of that Parliament were not extant, but had been lost in the confusion that followed upon the reduction of that Kingdom: Yet the thing was so fresh in every man's memory, that it might have a very ill effect, if the King should proceed without a regard to it. There was indeed another very severe act made in that Parliament against all that should treat or submit to *Cromwell*, or comply in any sort with him: But, he said, a difference ought to be made between those who during the struggle had deserted the service and gone over to the enemy, (of which number it might be fit to make some examples) and the rest of the Kingdom, who upon the general reduction had been forced to capitulate: It would be hard to punish any for submitting to a superior force, when they were in no condition to resist it. This seemed reasonable; and the Earl of *Clarendon* acquiesced in it. But the Earl of *Midletoun* and his party complained of it, and desired that the Marquis of *Argile*, whom they charged with an accession to the King's murder, and some few of those who had joined in the remonstrance while the King was in *Scotland*, might be proceeded against. The Marquis of *Argile's* craft made

1666.

1660.

them afraid of him: And his Estate made them desire to divide it among them. His son, the Lord *Lorn*, was come up to Court, and was well received by the King: For he had adhered so firmly to the King's interest, that he would never enter into any engagements with the Ufurpers: And upon every new occasion of jealousy he had been clapt up. In one of his imprisonments he had a terrible accident from a cannon bullet, which the soldiers throwing to exercise their strength, by a recoil struck him on the head, and made such a fracture in his skull, that the operation of the trepan, and the cure, was counted one of the greatest performances of surgery at that time. The difference between his father and him went on to a total breach; so that his father was set upon disinheriting him of all that was left in his power. Upon the Restoration the Marquis of *Argile* went up to the Highlands for some time, till he advised with his friends what to do; who were divided in opinion. He writ by his son to the King, asking leave to come and wait on him. The King gave an answer that seemed to encourage it, but did not bind him to any thing. I have forgot the words: There was an equivocating in them that did not become a Prince: But his son told me, he wrote them very particularly to his father, without any advice of his own. Upon that the Marquis of *Argile* came up so secretly, that he was within *White-hall*, before his enemies knew any thing of his journey. He sent his son to the King to beg admittance. But instead of that he was sent to the Tower. And orders were sent

*Argile*  
sent to  
the Tower  
et,

dow

down for clapping up three of the chief Remonstrators. Of these *Waristoun* was one: But he had notice sent him before the messenger came: So he made his escape, and went beyond sea, first to *Hamburgh*. He had been long courted by *Cromwell*, and had stood at a distance from him for seven years: But in the last year of his government he had gone into his counsels, and was summoned as one of his Peers to the other House, as it was called. He was after that put into the Council of state after *Richard* was put out: And then he sat in another court put up by *Lambert* and the Army, called the Committee of safety. So there was a great deal against him. *Swinton*, one of *Cromwell's* Lords, was also sent a prisoner to *Scotland*. And thus it was resolved to make a few examples, in the Parliament that was to be called, as soon as the King could be got to prepare matters for it. It was resolved on, to restore the King's authority to the same state it was in before the wars, and to raise such a force as might be necessary to secure the quiet of that Kingdom for the future.

IT was a harder point, what to do with the Citadels that were built by *Cromwell*, and with the *English* Garrisons that were kept in them. Many said, it was necessary to keep that Kingdom in that subdued state; at least till all things were settled, and that there was no more danger from thence. The Earl of *Clarendon* was of this mind. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* laid before the King, that the conquest *Cromwell* had made of *Scotland* was for their adhering to him: He might then judge what they would

L s

think

The citadels in Scotland demolished.



1660.

think, who had suffered so much and so long on his account; if the same thralldom, should be now kept up by his means: It would create an universal disgust. He told the King, that the time might come, in which he would wish rather to have *Scotch* garrisons in *England*: It would become a national quarrel, and loose the affections of the country to such a degree, that perhaps they would join with the garrisons, if any disjoining happen'd in *England* against him: Whereas, without any such badge of slavery, *Scotland* might be so managed, that they might be made entirely his. The Earl of *Middleton* and his party durst not appear for so unpopular a thing. So it was agreed on, that the citadels should be evacuated and demolished, as soon as the money could be raised in *England* for paying and disbanding the Army. Of all this the Earl of *Lauderdale* was believed the chief adviser: So he became very popular in *Scotland*.

Disputes  
concern-  
ing E-  
pisco-  
pacy.

THE next thing that fell under consideration was the Church, and whether Bishops were to be restored, or not. The Earl of *Lauderdale* at his first coming to the King stuck firm to Presbytery. He told me, the King spoke to him to let that go, for it was not a religion for gentlemen. He being really a Presbyterian, but at the same time resolving to get into the King's confidence, studied to convince the King by a very subtil method to keep up Presbytery still in *Scotland*. He told him, that both King *James* and his father had ruined their affairs by engaging in the design of setting up Episcopacy in that Kingdom: And by that means *Scotland* became discontented, and was of no use to them:

them: Whereas the King ought to govern them according to the grain of their own inclinations, and to make them sure to him: He ought, instead of endeavouring an uniformity in both Kingdoms, to keep up the opposition between them, and rather to encrease than to allay that hatred that was between them: And then the Scots would be ready, and might be easily brought to serve him, upon any occasion of dispute he might afterwards have with the Parliament of *England*. All things were then smooth: But that was the honey moon, and it could not last long: Nothing would keep *England* more in awe, than if they saw *Scotland* firm in their duty and affection to him: Whereas nothing gave them so much heart, as when they knew *Scotland* was disjointed. It was a vain attempt to think of doing any thing in *England* by means of the *Irish*, who were a despicable people, and had a sea to pass: But *Scotland* could be brought to engage for the King in a more silent manner, and could serve him more effectually. He therefore laid it down for a maxim, from which the King ought never to depart, that *Scotland* was to be kept quiet and in good humour; that the opposition of the two Kingdoms was to be kept up and heighen'd: And then the King might reckon on every man capable of bearing arms in *Scotland*, as a listed soldier, who would willingly change a bad country for a better. This was the plan he laid before the King. I cannot tell, whether this was to cover his zeal for Presbytery, or on design to encourage the King to set up arbitrary government in *England*.

TO

1660.

TO fortify these advices he wrote a long letter in white ink to a Daughter of the Earl of *Cassilis*, Lady *Margaret Kennedy*, who was in great credit with the party, and was looked on as a very wise and good woman, and was out of measure zealous for them. I married her afterwards, and after her death found this letter among her papers: In which he expressed great zeal for the cause: He saw the King was indifferent in the matter: But he was easy to those who pressed for a change: Which, he said, nothing could so effectually hinder, as the sending up many men of good sense, but without any noise, who might inform the King of the aversion the nation had to Episcopacy; and assure him, that if in that point he would be easy to them, he might depend upon them as to every thing else; and particularly, if he stood in need of their service in his other dominions. But he charged her to trust very few of the Ministers with this, and to take care that *Sharp* might know nothing of it: For he was then jealous of him. This had all the effect that the Earl of *Lauderdale* intended by it. The King was no more jealous of his favouring Presbytery; but looked on him as a fit instrument to manage *Scotland*, and to serve him in the most desperate designs: And on this all his credit with the King was founded. In the mean time *Sharp*, seeing the King cold in the matter of Episcopacy, thought it was necessary to lay the Presbyterians asleep, to make them apprehend no danger to their government, and to engage the Publick Resolutioners to proceed against all the Protesters; that so those who

were



were like to be the most inflexible in the point of Episcopacy, might be censured by their own party, and by that means the others might become so odious to the more violent Presbyterians, that thereby they might be the more easily disposed to submit to Episcopacy, or at least might have less credit to act against it. So he, being press'd by those who employed him to procure somewhat from the King that might look like a confirmation of their government, and put to silence all discourses of an intended change, obtained by the Earl of Lauderdale's means, that a letter should be writ by the King to the Presbytery of *Edenburgh*, to be communicated by them to all the other Presbyteries in *Scotland*, in which he confirmed the General Assemblies that sate at *St. Andrews* and *Dundee* while he was in *Scotland*, and that had confirmed the publick resolutions; in which he ordered them to proceed to censure all those who had then protested against them, and would not now submit to them. The King did also confirm their Presbyterian government, as it was by law established. This was signed, and sent down without communicating it to the Earl of *Midleton* or his party. But as soon as he heard of it, he thought *Sharp* had betrayed the design; and sent for him, and charged him with it. *Sharp* said, in his own excuse, that somewhat must be done for quieting the Presbyterians, who were beginning to take the alarm: That might have produced such applications, as would perhaps make some impression on the King: Whereas now all was secured, and yet the King was engaged to nothing; for his

-IM A  
yillio  
ni bntuol  
hnd lott

1660.

his confirming their government, as it was established by law, could bind him no longer than while that legal establishment was in force. So the reversing of that would release the King. This allayed the Earl of *Midletoun*'s displeasure a little. Yet *Primerose* told me, he spoke often of it with great indignation, since it seemed below the dignity of a King, thus to equivocate with his people, and to deceive them. It seemed, that *Sharp* thought it not enough to cheat the party himself, but would have the King share with him in the fraud. This was no honourable step to be made by a King, and to be contrived by a Clergyman. The letter was received with transports of joy: The Presbyterians reckoned they were safe, and began to proceed severely against the Protesters; to which they were set on by some aspiring men, who hoped to merit by the heat expressed on this occasion. And if *Sharp*'s impatience to get into the Archbishoprick of *St. Andrews* had not wrought too strong on him, it would have given a great advantage to the restitution of Episcopacy, if a General Assembly had been called, and the two parties had been let loose on one another: That would have shewn the impossibility of maintaining the government of the Church in a parity, and the necessity of setting a superiour order over them for keeping them in unity and peace.

A Ministry  
settled in  
*Scotland*.

THE King settled the Ministry in *Scotland*. The Earl of *Midletoun* was declared the King's Commissioner for holding the Parliament, and General of the forces that were to be raised: The Earl of *Glencairn* was made Chancellor:

The

The Earl of *Lauderdale* was Secretary of State: The Earl of *Roxburgh* President of the Council: The Earl of *Crawford* was continued in the Treasury: *Primrose* was Clerk Register, which is very like the place of Master of the Rolls in England. The rest depended on these. But the Earls of *Middleton* and *Lauderdale* were the two heads of the parties. The Earl of *Middleton* had a private instruction, which, as *Lauderdale* told me, was not communicated to him, to try the inclinations of the Nation for Episcopacy, and to consider of the best method of setting it up. This was drawn from the King by the Earl of *Clarendon*: For he himself was observed to be very cold in it. While these things were doing, *Primrose* got an order from the King to put up all the publick registers of *Scotland*, which *Cromwell* had brought up, and lodged in the Tower of *London*, as a pawn upon that Kingdom, in imitation of what King *Edward* the first was said to have done when he subdued that Nation. They were now put up in fifty hogsheds: And a ship was ready to carry them down. But it was suggested to Lord *Clarendon*, that the original Covenant, signed by the King, and some other declarations under his hand, were among them. And he, apprehending that at some time or other an ill use might have been made of these, would not suffer them to be shipped till they were visited: Nor would he take *Primrose's* promise of searching for these carefully, and sending them up to him. So he ordered a search to be made. None of the papers he looked for were found. But so much time was lost, that the summer

was



1660.

was spent: So they were sent down in winter. And by some easterly gusts the ship was cast away near *Barwick*. So we lost all our records. And we have nothing now but some fragments in private hands to rely on, having made at that time so great a shipwreck of all our authentick writings. This heightened the displeasure the Nation had at the designs then on foot.

THE main thing, upon which all other matters depended, was the method in which the affairs of *Scotland* were to be conducted. The Earl of *Clarendon* moved, that there might be a Council settled to sit regularly at *Whitehall* on *Scottish* affairs, to which every one of the *Scottish* Privy Council that happened to be on the place should be admitted: But with this addition, that, as two *Scottish* Lords were called to the *English* Council, so six of the *English* were to be of the *Scottish* Council. The effect of this would have been, that whereas the *Scottish* Counsellours had no great force in *English* affairs, the *English*, as they were men of great credit with the King, and were always on the place, would have the government of the affairs of *Scotland* wholly in their hands. This probably would have saved that Nation from much injustice and violence, when there was a certain method of laying their grievances before the King: Complaints would have been heard, and matters well examined: *Englishmen* would not, and durst not, have given way to crying oppression, and illegal proceedings: For tho' these matters did not fall under the cognisance of an *English* Parliament, yet it would have

very

very much blasted a man's credit who should have concurred in such methods of government as were put in practice afterwards in that Kingdom: Therefore all people quickly saw how wise a project this was, and how happy it would have proved, if affairs had still gone in that channel. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* opposed this with all his strength. He told the King, it would quite destroy the scheme he had laid before him, which must be managed secretly, and by men that were not in fear of the Parliament of *England*, nor obnoxious to it. He said to all *Scotch-men*, this would make *Scotland* a province to *England*, and subject it to *English* Counsellours, who knew neither the laws nor the interest of *Scotland*, and yet would determine every thing relating to it: And all the wealth of *Scotland* would be employed to bribe them, who, having no concern of their own in the affairs of that Kingdom, must be supposed capable of being turned by private considerations. To the Presbyterians he said, this would infallibly bring in, not only Episcopacy, but every thing else from the *English* pattern. Men who had neither kindred nor estates in *Scotland* would be biased chiefly by that which was most in vogue in *England*, without any regard to the inclinations of the *Scots*. These things made great impression on the *Scottish* Nation. The King himself did not much like it. But the Earl of *Clarendon* told him, *Scotland*, by a secret and ill management, had begun the embroilment in his father's affairs, which could never have happened, if the affairs of that Kingdom had been under a more equal inspection: If *Scotland* should again fall into new

M

dis-

1660.

disorders, he must have the help of *England* to quiet them: And that could not be expected, if the *English* had no share in the conduct of matters there. The King yielded to it: And this method was followed for two or three years; but was afterwards broke by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, when he got into the chief management. He began early to observe some uneasiness in the King at the Earl of *Clarendon*'s positive way. He saw the Mistress hated him; And he believed she would in time be too hard for him; Therefore he made great applications to her. But his conversation was too coarse: And he had not money enough to support himself by presents to her: So he could not be admitted into that cabal which was held in her lodgings. He saw, that in a Council, where men of weight, who had much at stake in *England*, bore the chief sway, he durst not have proposed those things, by which he intended to establish his own interest with the King, and to govern that Kingdom which way his pride or passion might guide him. Among others, he took great pains to persuade me of the great service he had done his country by breaking that method of governing it; tho' we had many occasions afterwards to see how fatal that proved, and how wicked his design in it was.

The  
Com-  
mittee  
of Es-  
tates  
meet in  
Scotland.

I have thus opened with some copiousness the beginnings of this reign; since, as they are little known, and I had them from the chief of both sides, so they may guide the reader to observe the progress of things better in the sequel than he could otherwise do. In *August* the Earl of *Glencairn* was sent down to *Scotland*, and had

orders



orders to call together the Committee of Estates. This was a practice begun in the late times: When the Parliament made a recess, they appointed some of every State to sit, and to act as a Council of State in their name till the next session; for which they were to prepare matters, and to which they gave an account of their proceedings. When the Parliament of *Sterling* was adjourned, the King being present, a Committee had been named: So, such of these as were yet alive were summoned to meet, and to see to the quiet of the Nation, till the Parliament should be brought together; which did not meet before *January*. On the day in which the Committee met, ten or twelve of the *Protesting* Ministers met likewise at *Edenburgh*, and had before them a warm paper prepared by one *Guthery*, one of the violentest Ministers of the whole party. In it, after some cold compliment to the King upon his Restoration, they put him in mind of the Covenant which he had so solemnly sworn while among them: They lamented that, instead of pursuing the ends of it in *England*, as he had sworn to do, he had set up the Common Prayer in his Chappel, and the order of Bishops; Upon which they made terrible denunciations of heavy judgments from God on him, if he did not stand to the Covenant, which they called the oath of God. The Earl of *Glencairn* had notice of this meeting. And he sent and seized on them together with this remonstrance: The paper was voted scandalous and seditious. And the Ministers were all clapt up in prison, and were threaten'd with great severities. *Guthery* was kept still in prison, who had brought the rest

1660.

together: But the others after a while's imprisonment were let go. *Guthery*, being Minister of *Sterlin* while the King was there, had let fly at him in his sermons in a most indecent manner; which at last became so intolerable, that he was cited to appear before the King to answer for some passages in those sermons: He would not appear, but declined the King and his Council, who, he said, were not proper judges of matters of doctrine for which he was only accountable to the judicatories of the Kirk. He also protested for remedy of law against the King, for thus disturbing him in the exercise of his Ministry. This personal affront had irritated the King more against him, than against any other of the party. And it was resolved to strike a terrour into them all, by making an example of him. He was a man of courage, and went thro' all his trouble with great firmness. But this way of proceeding struck the whole party with such a consternation, that it had all the effect which was designed by it: For whereas the pulpits had, to the great scandal of religion, been places where the Preachers had for many years vented their spleen and arraigned all proceedings, they became now more decent, and there was a general silence every where with relation to the affairs of State: Only they could not hold from many fly and secret insinuations, as if the Ark of God was shaking, and the Glory departing. A great many offenders were summoned, at the King's suit, before the Committee of Estates, and required to give bail, that they should appear at the opening of the Parliament, and answer to what should be then objected to them. Many saw, the

the design of this was to fright them into a composition, and also into a concurrence with the measures that were to be taken. For the greater part they complied, and redeemed themselves from farther vexation by such presents as they were able to make. And in these transactions *Primerose* and *Fletcher* were the great dealers.

IN the end of the year the Earl of *Middleton* came down with great magnificence: His way of living was the most splendid the nation had ever seen: But it was likewise the most scandalous; for vices of all sorts were the open practices of those about him. Drinking was the most notorious of all, which was often continued thro' the whole night to the next morning: And many disorders happening after those irregular heats, the people, who had never before that time seen any thing like it, came to look with an ill eye on every thing that was done by such a set of lewd and vitious men. This laid in all men's minds a new prejudice against Episcopacy: For they, who could not examine into the nature of things, were apt to take an ill opinion of every change in religion that was brought about by such bad instruments. There had been a face of gravity and piety in the former administration, which made the libertinage of the present time more odious.

THE Earl of *Middleton* opened the Parliament on the first of *January* with a speech, setting forth the blessing of the Restoration: He magnified the King's person, and enlarged on the affection that he bore to that his ancient

1660.

A Parliament  
in Scotland.

1661.



1661: Kingdom: He hoped they would make suitable returns of zeal for the King's service; that they would condemn all the invasions that had been made on the Regal authority; and assert the just prerogative of the Crown, and give supplies for keeping up such a force as was necessary to secure the publick peace, and to preserve them from the return of such calamities as they had so long felt. The Parliament writ an answer to the King's letter full of duty and thanks. The first thing proposed was to name Lords of the Articles. In order to the apprehending the importance of this, I will give some account of the Constitution of that Kingdom.

The  
Lords  
of the  
Articles.

THE Parliament was anciently the King's Court, where all who held land of him were bound to appear. All sat in one house, but were considered as three Estates. The first was the Church, represented by the Bishops, and mitred Abbots, and Priors. The second was the Baronage, the Nobility and Gentry who held their Baronies of the King. And the third was the Burroughs, who held of the King by Barony, tho' in a community. So that the Parliament was truly the Baronage of the Kingdom. The lesser Barons grew weary of this attendance: So in K. *James* the first's time (during the reign of *Henry IV. of England*) they were excused from it, and were impowered to send proxies, to an indefinite number, to represent them in Parliament. Yet they neglected to do this. And it continued so till King *James* the sixth's time, in which the mitred Abbots being taken away, and few of the titular Bishops that were then continued appearing, the Church Lands being

being generally in Lay hands, the Nobility carried matters in Parliament as they pleased: And as they oppressed the Burroughs, so they had the King much under them. Upon this the lower Barons got themselves to be restored to the right which they had neglected near two hundred years. They were allowed by act of Parliament to send two from a County: Only some smaller Counties sent but one. This brought the Constitution to a truer balance. The lower Barons have a right to choose at their county Courts after Michaelmas their Commissioners, to serve in any Parliament that may be called within that year. And they who chuse them sign a commission to him who represents them. So the Sheriff has no share of the return. And in the case of controverted elections the Parliament examines the commissions, to see who has the greatest number, and judges whether every one that signs it hath a right to do so. The Burroughs only choose their members when the summons goes out: And all are chosen by the men of the corporation, or, as they call them, the Town Council. All these Estates sit in one house, and vote together. Anciently the Parliament sate only two days, the first and the last. On the first they chose those who were to sit on the articles, eight for every Estate, to whom the King joined eight Officers of State. These received all the heads of grievances or articles that were brought to them, and formed them into bills as they pleased: And on the last day of the Parliament, they were all read, and were approved or rejected by the whole body. So they were a Committee that had a very

61

traordinary authority, since nothing could be brought before the Parliament but as they pleased. This was pretended to be done only for the shortening and dispatching of Sessions. The Crown was not contented with this limitation, but got it to be carried farther. The Nobility came to choose eight Bishops, and the Bishops to choose eight Noble men: And these sixteen chose the eight Barons, (so the representative for the Shires are called,) and the eight Burgeses. By this means our Kings did upon the matter choose all the Lords of the articles. So entirely had they got the liberties of the Parliament into their hands.

DURING the late troubles they had still kept up a distinction of three Estates, the lesser Barons making one: And then every Estate might meet apart, and name their own Committee: But still all things were brought in, and debated in full Parliament. So now the first thing proposed was, the returning to the old custom of naming Lords of the articles. The Earl of *Tweeddale* opposed it, but was seconded only by one person. So it pass'd with that small opposition. Only, to make it go easier, it was promised, that there should be frequent sessions of Parliament, and that the acts should not be brought in in a hurry; and carried with the haste that had been practised in former times.

The Act  
pass'd in  
this  
Session.

THE Parliament granted the King an additional revenue for life of 40000 *l.* a year, to be raised by an excise on beer and ale, for maintaining a small force: Upon which two troops and a regiment of foot guards were to be raised. They ordered the Marquis of *Montrose's*

quar-



quarters to be brought together: And they were buried with great state. They fell next upon the acts of the former times that had limited the Prerogative: They repealed them, and asserted it with a full extent in a most extraordinary manner. *Primerose* had the drawing of these acts. He often confessed to me, that he thought he was as one bewitched while he drew them: For, not considering the ill use might be made of them afterwards, he drew them with preambles full of extravagant rhetoric, reflecting severely on the proceedings of the late times; and swelled them up with the highest phrases and fullest clauses that he could invent. In the act which asserted the King's power of the militia, the power of arming and levying the subjects was carried so far, that it would have ruined the Kingdom, if *Gilmore*, (an eminent Lawyer, and a man of great integrity, who had now the more credit, because he had always favoured the King's side,) had not observed that, as the act was worded, the King might require all the subjects to serve at their own charge, and might oblige them, in order to the redeeming themselves from serving, to pay whatever might be set on them. So he made such an opposition to this, that it could not pass till a proviso was added to it, that the Kingdom should not be obliged to maintain any force levied by the King, otherwise than as it should be agreed to in Parliament, or in a Convention of Estates. This was the only thing that was then looked to: For all the other acts pass'd in the Articles as *Primerose* had penn'd them. They were brought

M s

into

1661.

into Parliament: And upon one hasty reading them they were put to the vote, and were always carried.

ONE act troubled the Presbyterians extremely. In the act asserting the King's power in treaties of peace and war, all leagues with any other Nation, not made by the King's authority, were declared treasonable: And in consequence of this the League and Covenant made with *England* in the year 1643 was condemned, and declared of no force for the future. This was the idol of all the Presbyterians: So they were much alarmed at it. But *Sharp* restrained all those with whom he had credit: He told them, the only way to preserve their government was, to let all that related to the King's authority be separated from it, and be condemned, that so they might be no more accused as enemies to monarchy, or as leavened with the principles of rebellion. He told them, they must be contented to let that pass, that the jealousy which the King had of them, as enemies to his prerogative, might be extinguished in the most effectual manner. This restrained many. But some hotter zealots could not be governed. One *Macquair*, a hot man and considerably learned, did in his church at *Glasgow* openly protest against this act, as contrary to the oath of God, and so void of itself. To protest against an act of Parliament was treason by their law. And *Middleton* was resolved to make an example of him for the terrifying others. But *Macquair* was as stiff as he was severe, and would come to no submission. Yet he was only condemned to perpetual banishment.

nishment. Upon which he, and some others who were afterwards banished, went and settled at *Rotterdam*, where they formed themselves into a Presbytery, and writ many seditious books, and kept a correspondence over all *Scotland*, that being the chief seat of the *Scottish* trade: And by that means they did much more mischief to the government, than they could have done had they continued still in *Scotland*.

THE Lords of the articles grew weary of preparing so many acts as the practices of the former times gave occasion for; but did not know how to meddle with those acts that the late King had passed in the year 41, or the present King had passed while he was in *Scotland*. They saw, that, if they should proceed to repeal those by which Presbyterian government was ratified, that would raise much opposition, and bring petitions from all that were for that government over the whole Kingdom; which *Middleton* and *Sharp* endeavoured to prevent, that the King might be confirmed in what they had affirmed, that the general bent of the Nation was now turned against Presbytery and for Bishops. So *Primrose* proposed, but half in jest as he assured me, that the better and shorter way would be to pass a general act rescissory, (as it was called,) annulling all the Parliaments that had been held since the year 1633. during the whole time of the war, as faulty and defective in their constitution. But it was not so easy to know upon what point that defect was to be fixed. The only colourable pretence in law was, that, since the

An act rescinding all Parliaments held since the year 1633.

eccle-



1661.

ecclesiastical state was not represented in those Parliaments, they were not a full representative of the Kingdom, and so not true Parliaments. But this could not be alledged by this present Parliament, which had no Bishops in it: If that inferred a nullity, this was no Parliament. Therefore they could only fix the nullity upon the pretence of force and violence. Yet it was a great strain to insist on that, since it was visible that neither the late King nor the present were under any force when they passed them: They came of their own accord, and pass'd those acts. If it was insisted on, that the ill state of their affairs was in the nature of a force: the ill consequences of this were visible; since no Prince by this means could be bound to any treaty, or be concluded by any law that limited his power, these being always drawn from them by the necessity of their affairs, which can never be called a force, as long as their persons are free. So, upon some debate about it on those grounds, at a private juncto the proposition, tho' well liked, was let fall, as not capable to have good colours put upon it: Nor had the Earl of *Middleton* any instruction to warrant his passing any such act. Yet within a day or two, when they had drunk higher, they resolved to venture on it. *Primerose* was then ill. So one was sent to desire him to prepare a bill to that effect. He set about it: But perceived it was so ill grounded, and so wild in all the frame of it, that he thought, when it came to be better considered, it must certainly be laid aside. But it fell out otherwise; His draught was copied out next morning,

morning, without altering a word in it, and carried to the Articles, and from thence to the Parliament, where it met indeed with great opposition. The Earl of *Crawford* and the Duke of *Hamilton* argued much against it. The Parliament in the year 41 was legally summoned: The late King came thither in person with his ordinary attendance, and without the appearance of any force: If any acts then pass'd needed to be reviewed, that might be well done: But to annul a Parliament was a terrible precedent, which destroyed the whole security of government: Another Parliament might annul the present Parliament, as well as that which was now proposed to be done: So no stop could be made, nor any security laid down for fixing things for the future. The Parliament in the year 48 proceeded upon instructions under the King's own hand, which was all that could be had considering his imprisonment: They had declared for the King, and raised an Army for his preservation. To this the Earl of *Middleton*, who contrary to custom managed the debate himself, answered, that tho' there was no visible force on the late King in the year 41, yet they all knew he was under a real force by reason of the rebellion that had been in this Kingdom, and the apparent danger of one ready to break out in *England*, which forced him to settle *Scotland* on such terms as he could bring them to: So that distress on his affairs was really equivalent to a force on his person: Yet he confessed, it was just, that such an appearance of a Parliament should be a full authority to all who acted under it: And care was taken to

1661.

to secure these by a proviso that was put in the act to indemnify them: He acknowledged the design of the Parliament in the year 48 was good: Yet they declared for the King in such terms, and had acted so hypocritically in order to the gaining of the Kirk party, that it was just to condemn the proceedings, tho' the intentions of many were honourable and loyal: For we went into it, he said, as knaves, and therefore no wonder if we miscarried in it as fools. This was very ill taken by all who had been concerned in it. The bill was put to the vote, and carried by a great majority. And the Earl of *Middleton* immediately pass'd it without staying for an instruction from the King. The excuse he made for it was, that, since the King had by his letter to the Presbyterians confirmed their government as it was established by law, there was no way left to get out of that, but the annulling all those laws.

It was  
not liked  
by the  
King.

THIS was a most extravagant act, and only fit to be concluded after a drunken bout. It shook all possible security for the future, and laid down a most pernicious precedent. The Earl of *Lauderdale* aggravated this heavily to the King. It shewed, that the Earl of *Middleton* understood not the first principles of government, since he had, without any warrant for it, given the King's assent to a law that must for ever take away all the security that law can give. No government was so well established, as not to be liable to a revolution: This would cut off all hopes of peace and submission, if any disorder should happen at any time thereafter. And since the Earl of *Clarendon* had set it up for

a man  
dem  
less hi  
now  
two K  
raised  
Earl o  
that th  
King  
prejudi  
send up  
to give  
ceeding  
were so  
engager  
into th  
clined  
accuse  
the pro  
the Kin  
law Le  
of the  
capital  
SHA  
the spee  
the grea  
under a  
other ac  
make an  
demnity  
great co  
act resc  
solemnly  
take hear  
of that



a maxim never to be violated, that acts of indemnity were sacred things; he studied to possess him against the Earl of Middleton, who had now annulled the very Parliaments in which two King's had pass'd acts of indemnity. This raised a great clamour. And upon that the Earl of Middleton complained in Parliament, that their best services were represented to the King as blemishes on his honour, and as a prejudice to his affairs: So he desired they would send up some of the most eminent of their body to give the King a true account of their proceedings. The Earls of Glencairn and Rothes were sent: For the Earl of Rothes gave secret engagements to both sides, resolving to strike into that to which he saw the King most inclined. The Earl of Middleton's design was to accuse the Earl of Lauderdale of misrepresenting the proceedings of Parliament, and of belying the King's good subjects; called in the *Scottish* law *Leasing-making*, which, either to the King of the People, or to the People of the King, is capital. *SHARP* went up with these Lords to press the speedy setting up of Episcopacy: now that the greatest enemies of that government were under a general consternation; and were upon other accounts so obnoxious, that they durst not make any opposition to it; since no act of indemnity was yet pass'd. He had expressed a great concern to his old brethren, when the act rescissory pass'd, and acted that part very solemnly for some days: Yet he seemed to take heart again, and persuaded the Ministers of that party, that it would be a service to them,

them, since now the case of ratifying their government was separated from the rebellion of the late times. So that hereafter it was to subsist by a law pass'd in a Parliament that sat and acted in full freedom. So he undertook to go again to Court, and to move for an instruction to settle Presbytery on a new and undisputed bottom. The poor men were so struck with the ill state of their affairs, that they either trusted him, or at least seem'd to do it; for indeed they had neither sense nor courage left them. During the session of Parliament the most aspiring men of the Clergy were pickt out to preach before the Parliament. They did not speak out: But they all insinuated the necessity of a greater authority than was then in the Church, for keeping them in order. One or two spoke plainer: Upon which the Presbytery of *Edenburgh* went to the Earl of *Midletoun*, and complain'd of that, as an affront to the law and to the King's letter. He dismissed them with good words, but took no notice of their complaint. The Synods in several places resolv'd to prepare addresses both to King and Parliament, for an act establishing their government. And *Sharp* dissembled so artificially, that he met with those who were preparing an address to be presented to the Synod of *Fife*, that was to sit within a week after: And heads were agreed on. *Honyman*, afterwards Bishop of *Orkney*, drew it up with so much vehemence, that *Wood*, their Divinity Professor, told me, he and some others sat up almost the whole night before the Synod met, to draw it over again in a smoother strain. But *Sharp* gave the

Earl

Earl  
Ror  
As f  
ject  
nod,  
of tre  
Such  
tion f  
Any  
met  
of Ab  
drefs  
pream  
violence  
rated  
with a  
pon w  
annull  
ment v  
to the  
Church  
driven  
derstoo  
was pr  
decentl  
would  
not con  
IN t  
pass'd  
party:  
to be k  
en d ha  
course  
co  
s w  
gre  
mer  
Pri

Earl of *Middleton* notice of this. So the Earl of *Roth* was sent over to see to their behaviour. As soon as the Ministers entred upon that subject, he in the King's name dissolved the Synod, and commanded the Ministers under pain of treason to retire to their several habitations. Such care was taken that no publick application should be made in favour of Presbytery. Any attempt that was made on the other hand met with great encouragement. The Synod of *Aberdeen* was the only body that made an address looking towards Episcopacy. In a long preamble they reflected on the confusions and violence of the late times, of which they enumerated many particulars: And they concluded with a prayer, that since the legal authority upon which their Courts proceeded was now annulled, that therefore the King and Parliament would settle their government, conform to the Scriptures and the rules of the primitive Church. The Presbyterians saw what was driven at, and how their words would be understood: But I heard one of them say, (for I was present at that meeting,) that no man could decently oppose those words, since by that he would insinuate that he thought Presbytery was not conform to those rules.

IN this session of Parliament another act pass'd, which was a new affliction to all the party: The twenty ninth of *May* was appointed to be kept as a holy day; since on that day an end had been put to three and twenty year's course of rebellion, of which the whole progress was reckoned up in the highest strain of *merose's* eloquence. The Ministers saw, that

Pri

N

by



1661. by observing this act pass'd with such a preamble, they condemned all their former proceedings, as rebellious and hypocritical. They saw, that by obeying it they would lose all their credit, and contradict all they had been building up in a course of so many years. Yet such was the heat of that time, that they durst not except to it on that account. So they laid hold on the subtilty of a holy day; and covered themselves under that controversy, denying it was in the power of any human authority to make a day holy. But withal they fell upon a poor shift: They enacted in their several Presbyteries that they should observe that day as a thanksgiving for the King's Restoration: So they took no notice of the act of Parliament, but observed it in obedience to their own act. But this, tho' it covered them from prosecution, since the law was obeyed, yet it laid them open to much contempt. When the Earls of *Glencairn* and *Rothes* came to Court, the King was soon satisfied with the account they gave of the proceedings of Parliament: And the Earl of *Lauderdale* would not own that he had ever misrepresented them. They were ordered to proceed in their charging of him, as the Earl of *Clarendon* should direct them. But he told them the assaulting of a Minister, as long as he had an interest in the King, was a practice that never could be approved: It was one of the uneasy things that a House of Commons of *England* sometimes ventured on, which was ungrateful to the Court: Such an attempt, instead of shaking the Earl of *Lauderdale*, would give him a faster root with the King. They

must th  
the King  
their ha  
misrepr  
they w  
*Lauderda*  
So this  
*Rothes*  
storm:  
true gro  
became

THU  
first fess  
publick  
of extra  
when th  
drunk.  
of the

THE  
quis of  
suit for  
to three  
actings  
stances  
ed in th  
glish at  
in the y  
the *Wes*  
Estates:  
during t  
actor, a  
ample f  
consiste  
ties, co  
on man

1661.

must therefore content themselves with letting the King see how well his service went on in their hands, and how unjustly they had been misrepresented to him; And thus by degrees they would gain their point, and the Earl of *Lauderdale* would become useless to the King. So this design was let fall. But the Earl of *Rothes* assured *Lauderdale*, he had diverted the storm: Tho' *Primrose* told me, this was the true ground on which they proceeded. They became all friends, as to outward appearance.

THUS I have gone thro' the actings of the first session of this Parliament with relation to publick affairs. It was a mad roaring time, full of extravagance. And no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk. I shall in the next place give an account of the Attainders pass'd in it.

THE first and chief of these was of the Marquis of *Argile*. He was indicted at the King's suit for a great many facts, that were reduced to three heads. The first was of his publick actings during the wars, of which many instances were given; such as his being concerned in the delivering up of the King to the *English* at *Newcastle*, his opposing the engagement in the year 1648, and his heading the rising in the *West* in opposition to the Committee of Estates: In this, and many other steps made during the war, he was esteemed the principal actor, and so ought to be made the greatest example for terrifying others. The second head consisted of many murders, and other barbarities, committed by his Officers, during the war, on many of the King's party; chiefly on those

1661. who had served under the Marquiss of *Montrose*; many of them being murdered in cold blood. The third head consisted of some articles of his concurrence with *Cromwell* and the usurpers, in opposition to those who appeared for the King in the *Highlands*; his being of *Cromwell's* Parliament, and assisting in proclaiming him Protector, with a great many other particulars, into which his compliance was branched out. He had counsel assigned him, who performed their part very well.

*Argile's*  
attainder.

THE substance of his defence was, that during the late wars he was but one among a great many more: He had always acted by authority of Parliament, and according to the instructions that were given him, as oft as he was sent on any expedition or negotiation. As to all things done before the year 1641, the late King had buried them in an act of oblivion then passed, as the present King had also done in the year 1651: So he did not think he was bound to answer to any particular before that time. For the second head, he was at *London* when most of the barbarities set out in it were committed: Nor did it appear that he gave any orders about them. It was well known that great outrages had been committed by the *Macdonalds*: And he believed his people, when they had the better of them, had taken cruel revenges: This was to be imputed to the heat of the time, and to the tempers of the people, who had been much provoked by the burning of his whole countrey, and by much blood that was shed. And as to many stories laid to the charge of his men, he knew some of them were

mere

mere  
much  
ever  
rable  
his or  
plianc  
till th  
case i  
and L  
to an  
vitable  
the nat  
more  
him.  
serve h  
on defi  
did his  
was the  
which  
skilfully  
as his fa  
speech,  
he said,  
after a  
jesty's  
This inf  
him an  
as chid  
*Argile* gr  
tion to b  
saw no  
concerne  
The King  
cle, of cha  
death, for



1661.

mere forgeries, and others were aggravated much beyond the truth: But, what truth soever might be in them, he could not be answerable but for what was done by himself, or by his orders. As to the third head, of his compliance with the usurpation, he had stood out till the nation was quite conquered: And in that case it was the received opinion both of Divines and Lawyers, that men might lawfully submit to an usurpation, when forced to it by an inevitable necessity. It was the epidemical sin of the nation. His circumstances were such, that more than a bare compliance was required of him. What he did that way was only to preserve himself and his family, and was not done on design to oppose the King's interest. Nor did his service suffer by any thing he did. This was the substance of his defence in a long speech, which he made with so good a grace and so skilfully, that his character was as much raised as his family suffered by the prosecution. In one speech, excusing his compliance with *Cromwell*, he said, what could he think of that matter, after a man so eminent in the law as his Majesty's Advocate had taken the engagement? This inflamed the other so much, that he called him an impudent villain, and was not so much as chid for that barbarous treatment. Lord *Argile* gravely said, he had learned in his affliction to bear reproaches; but if the Parliament saw no cause to condemn him, he was less concerned at the King's Advocate's railing. The King's Advocate put in an additional article, of charging him with accession to the King's death, for which all the proof he offered lay in

1661. a presumption: *Cromwell* had come down to *Scotland* with his Army in *September* 1648, and at that time he had many and long conferences with *Argile*; and immediately upon his return to *London* the treaty with the King was broken off, and the King was brought to his trial: The Advocate from thence inferred, that it was to be presumed that *Cromwell* and *Argile* had concerted that matter between them. While this process was carried on, which was the solemnest that ever was in *Scotland*, the Lord *Lorn* continued at Court soliciting for his father; and obtained a letter to be writ by the King to the Earl of *Midletoun*, requiring him to order his Advocate not to insist on any public proceedings before the indemnity he himself had pass'd in the year 1651. He also required him, when the trial was ended, to send up the whole process, and lay it before the King, before the Parliament should give sentence. The Earl of *Midletoun* submitted to the first part of this: So all farther enquiry into those matters was superseded. But as to the second part of the letter, it looked so like a distrust of the justice of the Parliament, that he said, he durst not let it be known, till he had a second and more positive order, which he earnestly desired might not be sent; for it would very much discourage this loyal and affectionate Parliament: And he begged earnestly to have that order recalled; which was done. For some time there was a stop to the proceedings, in which Lord *Argile* was contriving an escape out of the Castle. He kept his bed for some days: And his Lady being of the same stature with

with himself, and coming to him in a chair, 1661.  
 he had put on her cloaths, and was going into  
 the chair: But he apprehended he should be  
 discovered, and his execution hastened; and so  
 his heart failed him. The Earl of *Midletoun*  
 resolved, if possible, to have the King's death  
 fastened on him. By this means, as he would  
 die with the more infamy, so he reckoned this  
 would put an end to the family, since no body  
 durst move in favour of the son of one judged  
 guilty of that crime. And he, as was believed,  
 hoped to obtain a grant of his estate. Search  
 was made into all the precedents of men who  
 had been at any time condemned upon pre-  
 sumption. And the Earl of *Midletoun* resolved  
 to argue the matter himself, hoping that the  
 weight of his authority would bear down all  
 opposition. He managed it indeed with more  
 force than decency: He was too vehement,  
 and maintained the argument with a strength  
 that did more honour to his parts than to his  
 justice or his character. But *Gilmore*, tho' newly  
 made President of the Session, which is the su-  
 pream Court of Justice in that Kingdom, ab-  
 horred the precedent of attainting a man upon  
 so remote a presumption; and looked upon it  
 as less justifiable than the much decried attain-  
 der of the Earl of *Strafford*. So he undertook  
 the argument against *Midletoun*: They replied  
 upon one another thirteen or fourteen times in  
 a debate that lasted many hours. *Gilmore* had  
 so clearly the better of the argument, that, tho'  
 the Parliament was so set against *Argile* that  
 every thing was like to pass that might blacken  
 him, yet, when it was put to the vote, he was



1661. acquitted as to that by a great majority : At which he expressed so much joy, that he seemed little concerned at any thing that could happen to him after that. All that remained was to make his compliance with the usurpers appear to be treason. The debate was like to have lasted long. The Earl of *Lowdun*, who had been Lord Chancellour, and was counted the eloquentest man of that time, for he had a copiousness in speaking that was never exhausted, (he was come of his family and was his particular friend,) had prepared a long and learned argument on that head. He had gathered the opinions both of Divines and Lawyers, and had laid together a great deal out of history, more particularly out of the *Scotish* history, to shew that it had never been censured as a crime. But that on the contrary, in all their confusions, the men who had merited the most of the Crown in all its shakings, were persons who had got credit by compliance with the side that prevailed, and by that means had brought things about again. But, while it was very doubtful how it would have gone, *Monk*, by an inexcusable baseness, had searched among his letters, & found some that were writ by *Argile* to himself, that were hearty and zealous on their side. These he sent down to *Scotland*. And after they were read in Parliament, it could not be pretended that his compliance was feigned, or extorted from him. Every body blamed *Monk* for sending these down, since it was a betraying the confidence that they then lived in. They were sent by an express, and came to the Earl of *Midleton* after the Parliament was engaged

in the debate. So he ordered the letters to be read. This was much blamed, as contrary to the forms of justice, since probation was closed on both sides. But the reading of them silenced all farther debate. All *Argile's* friends went out: And he was condemned as guilty of treason. The Marquis of *Montrose* only refused to vote. He owned, he had too much resentment to judge in that matter. It was designed he should be hanged, as the Marquis of *Montrose* had been: But it was carried that he should be beheaded, and that his head should be set up where Lord *Montrose's* had been set. He received his sentence decently, and composed himself to suffer.

THE day before his death he wrote to the King, justifying his intentions in all he had acted in the matter of the Covenant; He protested his innocence, as to the death of the late King: He submitted patiently to his sentence, and wished the King a long and happy reign: He cast his family and children upon his mercy; and prayed that they might not suffer for their father's fault. On the twenty seventh of *May*, the day appointed for his execution, he came to the scaffold in a very solemn but undaunted manner, accompanied with many of the Nobility and some Ministers. He spoke for half an hour with a great appearance of serenity. *Cunningham* his physician told me he touched his pulse, and that it did then beat at the usual rate, calm and strong. He did in a most solemn manner vindicate himself from all knowledge or accession to the King's death: He pardoned all his enemies; and submitted to the sentence, as to the will of God: He spoke highly in justification

And execution.

1661.

tification of the Covenant, calling it the cause and work of God; and expressed his apprehension of sad times like to follow; and exhorted all people to adhere to the Covenant, and to resolve to suffer rather than sin against their consciences. He parted with all his friends very decently. And after some time spent in his private devotions he was beheaded.

The execution of  
Guthry a  
Minister.

A few days after Guthry suffered. He was accused of accession to the remonstrance when the King was in Scotland, and for a book he had printed with the title of *the causes of God's wrath upon the nation*; in which the treating with the King, the tendering him the Covenant, and the admitting him to the exercise of the government, were highly aggravated, as great acts of apostacy. His declining the King's authority to judge of his sermons, and his protesting for remedy of law against him, and the late seditious paper that he was drawing others to concur in, were the matters objected to him. He was a resolute and stiff man: So when his Lawyers offered him legal defences, he would not be advised by them, but resolved to take his own way. He confessed, and justified all that he had done, as agreeing to the principles and practices of the Kirk, who had asserted all along that the doctrine delivered in their sermons did not fall under the cognisance of the temporal Courts, till it was first judged by the Church; for which he brought much tedious proof. He said, his protesting for remedy of law against the King was not meant at the King's person, but was only with relation to costs and damages. The Earl of Middleton had



1661.

a personal animosity against him; for in the late times he had excommunicated him: So his eagerness in the prosecution did not look well. The defence he made signified nothing to justify himself, but laid a great load on Presbytery; since he made it out beyond all dispute, that he had acted upon their principles, which made them the more odious, as having among them some of the worst maxims of the Church of Rome; that in particular, to make the pulpit a privileged place, in which a man might safely vent treason, and be secure in doing it, if the Church judicatory should agree to acquit him. So upon this occasion great advantage was taken, to shew how near the spirit that had reigned in Presbytery came up to Popery. It was resolved to make a publick example of a Preacher: So he was singled out. He gave no advantage to those who wished to have saved him by the least step towards any submission, but much to the contrary. Yet, tho' all people were disgusted at the Earl of *Middleton's* eagerness in the prosecution, the Earl of *Tweeddale* was the only man that moved against the putting him to death. He said, banishment had been hitherto the severest censure that had been laid on the Preachers for their opinions: He knew *Guthrie* was a man apt to give personal provocation: And he wished that might not have too great a share in carrying the matter so far. Yet he was condemned to die. I saw him suffer. He was so far from shewing any fear, that he rather expressed a contempt of death. He spoke an hour upon the ladder, with

1661.

with the composedness of a man that was delivering a sermon rather than his last words. He justified all he had done, and exhorted all people to adhere to the Covenant, which he magnified highly. With him one *Gouan* was also hanged, who had deserted the Army while the King was in *Scotland*, and had gone over to *Cromwell*. The man was inconsiderable, till they made him more considered by putting him to death on such an account at so great a distance of time.

Some  
others  
were pro-  
ceeded  
against.

THE gross iniquity of the Court appeared in nothing more eminently than in the favour shewed *Maccloud* of *Assin*, who had betrayed the Marquis of *Montrose*, and was brought over upon it. He in prison struck up to a high pitch of vice and impiety, and gave great entertainments: And that, notwithstanding the baseness of the man and of his crimes: begot him so many friends, that he was let go without any censure. The proceedings against *Waristoun* were soon dispatched, he being absent. It was proved, that he had presented the Remonstrance, that he had acted under *Cromwell's* authority, and had sate as a Peer in his Parliament; that he had confirmed him in his Protectorship, and had likewise sate as one of the Committee of Safety: So he was attainted. *Swintoun* had been attainted in the Parliament at *Sterlin* for going over to *Cromwell*: So he was brought before the Parliament to hear what he could say, why the sentence should not be executed. He was then become a Quaker; and did, with a sort of eloquence that moved the whole house, lay out all his own errors, and the ill spirit

he

he wa  
were  
that n  
should  
as mo  
did fo  
recom  
of his  
fented  
to the  
of his  
The o  
at *Ster*  
liamen  
act refi  
all tha  
neither  
taint h  
attaind  
indemn  
having  
the mo  
But up  
safe.

THE  
to a co  
of inde  
Episcop  
who w  
account  
keep th  
should  
up to C  
He had  
the King

he was in when he committed the things that were charged on him, with so tender a sense, that he seemed as one indifferent what they should do with him: And, without so much as moving for mercy, or even for a delay, he did so effectually prevail on them, that they recommended him to the King, as a fit object of his mercy. This was the more easily consented to by the Earl of *Middleton*, in hatred to the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who had got the gift of his estate. He had two great pleas in law: The one was, that the record of his Attainder at *Sterlin*, with all that had pass'd in that Parliament, was lost: The other was, that by the act rescissory that Parliament being annulled, all that was done by it was void: But he urged neither, since there was matter enough to attaint him anew, if the defects of that supposed attainder had been observed. So till the act of indemnity was pass'd he was still in danger, having been the man of all *Scotland* that had been the most trusted and employed by *Cromwell*: But upon passing the act of indemnity he was safe.

1661.

THE session of Parliament was now brought to a conclusion, without any motion for an act of indemnity. The secret of this was, that since Episcopacy was to be set up, and that those who were most like to oppose it were on other accounts obnoxious, it was thought best to keep them under that fear, till the change should be made. The Earl of *Middleton* went up to Court full of merit, and as full of pride. He had a mind to be Lord Treasurer; and told the King, that, if he intended to set up Episcopacy,

*Middleton* gave an account of all that had passed in Parliament to the King.



1661.

copacy, the Earl of *Crawford*, who was a noted Presbyterian, must be put out of that post: It was the opinion of the King's zeal for that form of government that must bear down all the opposition that might otherwise be made to it: And it would not be possible to persuade the nation of that, as long as they saw the white staff in such hands. Therefore, on the first day on which a *Scottish* Council was called after he came up, he gave a long account of the proceedings of Parliament, and magnified the zeal and loyalty that many had expressed, while others that had been not only pardoned, but were highly trusted by the King, had been often cold and backward, and sometimes plainly against the service. The Earl of *Lauderdale* was ill that day. So the Earl of *Crawford* undertook to answer this reflection, which he thought was meant of himself, for opposing the act rescissory. He said, he had observed such an entire unanimity in carrying on the King's service, that he did not know of any that had acted otherwise: And therefore he moved, that the Earl of *Midletoun* might speak plain, and name persons. The Earl of *Midletoun* desired to be excused: He did not intend to accuse any. But yet he thought, he was bound to let the King know how he had been served. The Earl of *Crawford* still press'd him to speak out after so general an accusation: No doubt, he would inform the King in private who these persons were: And since he had already gone so far in publick, he thought he ought to go farther. The Earl of *Midletoun* was in some confusion; for he did not expect to be thus attack'd: So to

get

1661.

get off he named the opposition that the Earl of *Tweeddale* had made to the sentence pass'd on *Guthry*, not without making indecent reflections on it, as if his prosecution had flow'd from the King's resentments of his behaviour to himself: And so he turned the matter, that the Earl of *Tweeddale*'s reflection, which was thought indeed pointed against himself, should seem as meant against the King. The Earl of *Crawford* upon this said, that the Earl of *Middleton* ought to have excepted to the words when they were first spoken; and no doubt the Parliament would have done the King justice: But it was never thought consistent with the liberty of speech in Parliament, to bring men into question afterwards for words spoken in any debate, when they were not challenged as soon as they were spoken. The Earl of *Middleton* excused himself: He said, the thing was pass'd before he made due reflections on it; and so asked pardon for that omission. The Earl of *Crawford* was glad he himself had escaped, and was silent as to the Earl of *Tweeddale*'s concern: So, no body offering to excuse him, an order was presently sent down for committing him to prison, and for examining him upon the words he had spoken, and on his meaning in them. That was not a time in which men durst pretend to privilege, or the freedom of debate: So he did not insist on it; but sent up such an account of his words, and such an explanation of them, as fully satisfied the King. So after the imprisonment of some weeks he was set at liberty. But this raised a great outcry against the Earl of *Middleton*, as a thing that

1661. that was contrary to the freedom of debate, and destructive of the liberty of Parliament. It lay the more open to censure, because the Earl of *Middleton* had accepted of a great entertainment from the Earl of *Tweeddale* after *Guthry's* business was over: And it seemed contrary to the rules of hospitality, to have such a design in his heart against a man in whose house he had been so treated: All the excuse he made for it was, that he never intended it; but that the Earl of *Crawford* had press'd him so hard upon the complaint he had made in general, that he had no way of getting out of it without naming some particulars; and he had no other ready then at hand.

ANOTHER difference of greater moment fell in between him and the Earl of *Crawford*. The Earl of *Middleton* was now raising the guards, that were to be paid out of the excise granted by the Parliament. So he moved, that the excise might be raised by Collectors named by himself as General, that so he might not depend on the Treasury for the pay of the forces. The Earl of *Crawford* opposed this with great advantage, since all revenues given the King did by the course of law come into the Treasury. *Scotland* was not in a condition to maintain two Treasurers: And, as to what was said, of the necessity of having the pay of the Army well ascertained and ever ready, otherwise it would become a grievance to the Kingdom, he said, the King was Master, and what orders soever he thought fit to send to the Treasury, they should be most punctually obeyed. But the Earl of *Middleton* knew, there would be



be a great overplus of the excise beyond the pay of the troops: And he reckoned, that, if the collection was put in his hands, he would easily get a grant of the overplus at the year's end. The Earl of *Crawford* said; no such thing was ever pretended to by any General, unless by such as set up to be independent, and who hoped by that means to make them selves masters of the army. So he carried the point, which was thought a victory. And the Earl of *Middleton* was much blamed for putting his interest at Court on such an issue, where the pretension was so unusual and so unreasonable.

The next point was concerning Lord *Argyle's* estate. The King was inclined to restore the Lord *Lorn*; tho' much pains was taken to persuade him, that all the zeal he had expressed in his service was only an artifice between his father and him to preserve the family in all adventures: It was said, that it had been an ordinary practice in *Scotland* for father and son to put themselves on different sides. The Marquis of *Argyle* had taken very extraordinary methods to raise his own family to such a superiority in the Highlands, that he was a sort of a King among them. The Marquis of *Huntly* had married his sister: And during their friendship *Argyle* was bound with him for some of his debts. After that, the Marquis of *Huntly*, as he neglected his affairs, so he engaged on the King's side, by which *Argyle* saw he must be undone. So he pretended, that he only intended to secure himself, when he bought in prior mortgages & debts, which, as was believed, were compounded at very low rates. The friends of the Mar-

O

quis

1661.

1661.

quis of *Huntly's* family press'd the King hard to give his heirs the confiscation of that part of *Argile's* estate, in which the Marquis of *Huntly's* debts, and all the pretensions on his estate were comprehended. And it was given to the Marquis of *Huntly*, now Duke of *Gordon*, then a young child. But no care was taken to breed him a Protestant. The Marquis of *Montrose*, and all others whose estates had been ruined under *Argile's* conduct, expected likewise reparation out of his estate; which was a very great one, but in no way able to satisfy all those demands. And it was believed, that the Earl of *Middleton* himself hoped to have carried away the main bulk of it. So that both the Lord *Lore* and he concurred, tho with different views, to put a stop to all the pretensions made upon it.

It was  
resolved  
to set up  
Episcopacy  
in Scotland.

The point of the greatest importance then under consideration was, whether Episcopacy should be restored in *Scotland*, or not. The Earl of *Middleton* assured the King, it was desired by the greater and honestest part of the nation. One Synod had as good as petitioned for it. And many others wished for it, tho' the share they had in the late wars made them think it was not fit or decent for them to move for it. *Sharp* assured the King, that none but the Protestors, of whom he had a very bad opinion, were against it; and that of the Resolutioners there would not be found twenty that would oppose it. All those who were for making the change agreed, that it ought to be done now, in the first heat of joy after the Restoration, & before the act of indemnity pass'd. The Earl of *Lauderdale* and all his friends on the other

hand

hand assured the King, that the national prejudice against it was still very strong, that those who seemed zealous for it ran into it only as a method to procure favour, but that those who were against it would be found stiff and eager in their opposition to it; that by setting it up the King would lose the affections of the nation, and that the supporting it would grow a heavy load on his government. The Earl of Lauderdale turned all this, that looked like a zeal for Presbytery, to a dextrous insinuating himself into the King's confidence; as one that designed nothing but his greatness and his having Scotland sure to him, in order to the executing of any design he might afterwards be engaged in. The King went very coldly into the design. He said, he remembered well the aversion that he himself had observed in that nation to any thing that looked like a superiority in the Church. But to that the Earl of Middleton and Sharp answered, by assuring him that the insolencies committed by the Presbyterians while they governed, and the ten years usurpation that had followed, had made such a change in peoples tempers, that they were much altered since he had been among them. The King naturally hated Presbytery: And, having called a new Parliament in England, that did with great zeal espouse the interests of the Church of England, and were now beginning to complain of the evacuating the garrisons held by the army in Scotland, he gave way, tho' with a visible reluctancy, to the change of the Church government in that Kingdom. The aversion he seemed to express was imputed to his own indifference as to all those



1661

matters and to his unwillingness to involve his government in new trouble. But the view of things that the Earl of *Lauderdale* had given him was the true root of all that coldness. The Earl of *Clarendon* set it on with great zeal. And so did the Duke of *Ormond*; who said, it would be very hard to maintain the government of the Church in *Ireland*, if Presbytery continued in *Scotland*, since the northern counties, which were the best stocked of any they had, as they were originally from *Scotland*, so they would still follow the way of that nation. Upon all this diversity of opinion, the thing was proposed in a Scotch Council at *Whitehall*. The Earl of *Crawford* declared himself against it: But the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Duke *Hamilton*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, were only for delaying the making any such change, till the King should be better satisfied concerning the inclinations of the nation. The result of the debate (all the rest who were present being earnest for the change) was, that a letter was writ to the Privy Council of *Scotland*, intimating the King's intentions for setting up Episcopacy, and demanding their advice upon it. The Earl of *Glencairn* ordered the letter to be read, having taken care that such persons should be present who he knew would speak warmly for it, that so others, who might intend to oppose it, might be frightened from doing it. None spoke against it, but the Earl of *Kincairdin*. He proposed, that some certain methods might be taken, by which they might be well informed, and so be able to inform the King of the temper of the nation, before they offered an advice, that might have

It was  
resolved  
to set up  
Episcopacy  
in Scotland

TO THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

1661

K O

hav  
if r  
rep  
and  
ma  
Kir  
and  
to  
the  
rem  
mer  
to  
Bish  
gag  
ing  
driv  
trou  
one  
had  
to  
adv  
he  
Wh  
who  
cop  
effe  
moc  
gath  
fible  
glis  
dem  
Som  
to  
of o

have such effects as might very much perplex, 1661.  
if not disorder, all their affairs. Some smart  
repartees passed between the Earl of *Glencairn*  
and him. This was all the opposition that was  
made at that board. So a letter was writ to the  
King from thence, encouraging him to go on,  
and assuring him, that the change he intended  
to make would give a general satisfaction to  
the main body of the nation.

Upon that the thing was resolved on. It  
remained after this only to consider the proper  
methods of doing it, and the men who ought  
to be employed in it. *Sheldon* and the *English*  
Bishops had an aversion to all that had been en-  
gaged in the Covenant: So they were for seek-  
ing out all the Episcopal Clergy, who had been  
driven out of *Scotland* in the beginning of the  
troubles, and preferring them. There was but  
one of the old Bishops left alive, *Synserfe*, who  
had been Bishop of *Galloway*. He had come up  
to *London*, not doubting but that he should be  
advanced to the Primacy of *Scotland*. It is true,  
he had of late done some very irregular things.  
When the act of uniformity required all men  
who held any benefices in *England* to be epis-  
copally ordained, he, who by observing the ill  
effects of their former violence was become very  
moderate, with others of the *Scotch* Clergy that  
gathered about him, did set up a very indefen-  
sible practice of ordaining all those of the *En-  
glish* Clergy who came to him, and that without  
demanding either oaths or subscriptions of them.  
Some believed, that this was done by him, only  
to subsist on the fees that arose from the letters  
of orders so granted; for he was very poor.

Men  
sought out  
to be Bi-  
shops.

1661. This did so disgust the *English Bishops* at him and his company, that they took no care of him or them. Yet they were much against a set of *Presbyterian Bishops*. They believed they could have no credit, and that they would have no zeal. This touched *Sharp* to the quick: So he laid the matter before the *Earl of Clarendon*. He said, these old *Episcopal* men by their long absence out of *Scotland* knew nothing of the present generation: And by the ill usage they had met with they were so irritated, that they would run matters quickly to great extremities: And, if there was a faction among the *Bishops*, some valuing themselves upon their constant steadiness, and looking with an ill eye on those who had been carried away with the stream, this would divide and distract their counsels; whereas a set of men of moderate principles would be more uniform in their proceedings. This prevailed with the *Earl of Clarendon*, who saw the King so remiss in that matter, that he resolved to keep things in as great temper as was possible. And he, not doubting but that *Sharp* would pursue that in which he seemed to be so zealous and hot, and carry things with great moderation, persuaded the *Bishops of England* to leave the management of that matter wholly to him. And *Sharp*, being assured of that at which he had long aimed, laid aside his mask, and owned, that he was to be *Archbishop of St. Andrews*. He said to some, from whom I had it, that when he saw that the King was resolved on the change, and that some hot men were like to be advanced, whose violence would ruin the country, he had submitted to that post on design to moderate

mat-



matters, and to cover some good men from a storm that might otherwise break upon them. 1661.  
So deeply did he still dissemble: For now he talked of nothing so much as of love and moderation.

Synserse was removed to be Bishop of *Orkney*, one of the best revenues of any of the Bishopricks in *Scotland*: But it had been almost in all times a *Sine-cure*. He lived little more than a year after his translation. He had died in more esteem, if he had died a year before it. But *Sharp* was ordered to find out proper men for filling up the other Sees. That care was left entirely to him, and the choice was generally very bad.

Two men were brought up to be consecrated in *England*, *Fairfoul* designed for the see of *Glasgow*, and *Hamilton*, brother to the Lord *Belhaven*, for *Galloway*. The former of these was a pleasant and facetious man, insinuating and crafty: But he was a better Physician than a Divine. His life was scarce free from scandal: And he was eminent in nothing that belonged to his own function. He had not only sworn the Covenant, but had persuaded others to do it. And when one objected to him, that it went against his conscience, he answered, there were some very good medicines that could not be chewed, but were to be swallowed down; and since it was plain that a man could not live in *Scotland* unless he swore it, therefore it must be swallowed down without any farther examination. Whatever the matter was, soon after the consecration his parts sunk to fast, that in a few months he, who had pass'd his

1661.

whole life long for one of the cunningest men in *Scotland*, became almost a changling; upon which it may be easily collected what commentaries the Presbyterians would make. *Sharp* lamented this to me, as one of their great misfortunes. He said, it began to appear in less than a month after he came to *London*. *Hamilton* was a good natured man, but weak. He was always believed Episcopal. Yet he had so far complied in the time of the Covenant, that he affected a peculiar expression of his counterfeited zeal for their cause, to secure himself from suspicion: When he gave the Sacrament, he excommunicated all that were not true to the Covenant, using a form in the Old Testament of shaking out the lap of his gown, saying, so did he cast out of the Church and communion all that dealt falsely in the Covenant.

Bishop  
*Leighton's*  
character.

With these there was a fourth man found out, who was then at *London* at his return from the *Bath*, where he had been for his health: And on him I will enlarge more copiously. He was the son of Doctor *Leighton*, who had in Archbishop *Laud's* time writ *Zion's plea against the Prelates*, for which he was condemned in the Star-Chamber to have his ears cut and his nose slit. He was a man of a violent and ungoverned heat. He sent his eldest son *Robert* to be bred in *Scotland*, who was accounted a Saint from his youth up. He had great quickness of parts, a lively apprehension, with a charming vivacity of thought and expression. He had the greatest command of the purest *Latin* that ever I knew in any man. He was a master both of *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and of the whole

whole compass of theological learning, chiefly in the study of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the rest was, he was possessed with the highest and noblest sense of divine things that I ever saw in any man. He had no regard to his person, unless it was to mortify it by a constant low diet, that was like a perpetual fast. He had a contempt both of wealth and reputation. He seemed to have the lowest thoughts of himself possible, and to desire that all other persons should think as meanly of him as he did himself. He bore all sorts of ill usage and reproach, like a man that took pleasure in it. He had so subdued the natural heat of his temper, that in a great variety of accidents, and in a course of twenty two years intimate conversation with him, I never observed the least sign of passion, but upon one single occasion. He brought himself into so composed a gravity, that I never saw him laugh, and but seldom smile. And he kept himself in such a constant recollection, that I do not remember that ever I heard him say one idle word. There was a visible tendency in all he said to raise his own mind, and those he conversed with, to serious reflections. He seemed to be in a perpetual meditation. And, tho' the whole course of his life was strict and ascetical, yet he had nothing of the sourness of temper that generally possesses men of that sort. He was the freest from superstition, of censuring others, or of imposing his own methods on them, possible. So that he did not so much as recommend them to others. He said, there was a diversity of tempers; and every man was to



1661.

watch over his own, and to turn it in the best manner he could. His thoughts were lively, oft out of the way and surprizing, yet just and genuine. And he had laid together in his memory the greatest treasure of the best and wisest of all the ancient sayings of the heathens as well as christians, that I have ever known any man master of: And he used them in the aptest manner possible. He had been bred up with the greatest aversion imaginable to the whole frame of the Church of *England*. From *Scotland* his father sent him to travel. He spent some years in *France*, and spoke that language like one born there. He came afterwards and settled in *Scotland*, and had Presbyterian ordination. But he quickly broke thro' the prejudices of his education. His preaching had a sublimity both of thought and expression in it. The grace and gravity of his pronounciation was such, that few heard him without a very sensible emotion: I am sure I never did. His stile was rather too fine: But there was a majesty and beauty in it that left so deep an impression, that I cannot yet forget the sermons I heard him preach thirty years ago. And yet with this he seemed to look on himself as so ordinary a preacher, that while he had a cure he was ready to employ all others: And when he was a Bishop he chose to preach to small auditories, and would never give notice before hand: He had indeed a very low voice, and so could not be heard by a great croud. He soon came to see into the follies of the Presbyterians, and to dislike their Covenant; particularly the imposing it, and their fury against all who differed from them. He

found

found they were not capable of large thoughts: 1661.  
Theirs were narrow, as their tempers were  
sour. So he grew weary of mixing with them.  
He scarce ever went to their meetings, and  
lived in great retirement, minding only the  
care of his own parish at *Newbottle* near *Eden-*  
*burgh*. Yet all the opposition that he made to  
them was, that he preached up a more exact  
rule of life than seemed to them consistent with  
human nature: But his own practice did even  
outshine his doctrine.

IN the year 1648 he declared himself for  
the engagement for the King. But the Earl of  
*Lothian*, who lived in his parish, had so high  
an esteem for him, that he persuaded the violent  
men not to meddle with him: Tho he gave  
occasion to great exception; for when some of  
his parish, who had been in the engagement,  
were ordered to make publick profession of  
their repentance for it, he told them, they had  
been in an expedition, in which, he believed,  
they had neglected their duty to God, and had  
been guilty of injustice and violence, of drun-  
kenness and other immoralities, and he charged  
them to repent of these very seriously, without  
meddling with the quarrel or the grounds of  
that war. He entred into a great correspon-  
dence with many of the Episcopal party, and  
with my own father in particular; and did wholly  
separate himself from the Presbyterians. At last  
he left them, and withdrew from his cure: For  
he could not do the things imposed on him any  
longer. And yet he hated all contention so  
much, that he chose rather to leave them in a  
silent manner, than to engage in any disputes  
with

1661. with them. But he had generally the reputation of a Saint, and of something above human nature in him: So the Mastership of the College of *Edenburgh* falling vacant some time after, and it being in the gift of the City, he was prevail'd with to accept of it; because in it he was wholly separated from all Church matters. He continued ten years in that post: And was a great blessing in it; for he talked so to all the youth of any capacity or distinction, that it had great effect on many of them. He preached often to them: And if crouds broke in, which they were apt to do, he would have gone on in his Sermon in *Latin*, with a purity and life that charmed all who understood it. Thus he had lived above twenty years in *Scotland*, in the highest reputation that any man in my time ever had in that Kingdom.

HE had a brother well known at Court, Sir *Elisba*, who was very like him in face and in the vivacity of his parts, but the most unlike him in all other things that can be imagined: For, tho' he loved to talk of great sublimities in religion, yet he was a very immoral man. He was a Papist of a form of his own: But he had changed his religion to raise himself at Court; for he was at that time Secretary to the Duke of *York*, and was very intimate with the Lord *Aubigny*, a brother of the Duke of *Richmond's*, who had changed his religion, and was a Priest, & would probably have been a Cardinal if he had lived a little longer. He maintained an outward decency, and had more learning and better notions, than men of quality, who enter into orders in that Church, generally have



have: Yet he was a very vicious man: And that perhaps made him the more considered by the King, who loved and trusted him to a high degree. No man had more credit with the King; for he was on the secret as to his religion, and was more trusted with the whole design, that was then managed in order to establish it, than any man whatsoever. Sir *Elisha* brought his brother and him acquainted: For *Leighton* loved to know men in all the varieties of religion.

IN the vacation time *Leighton* made excursions, and came oft to *London*; where he observed all the eminent men in *Cromwell's* Court, and in the several parties then about the city. But he told me, he could never see any thing among them that pleased him. They were men of unquiet and meddling tempers: And their discourses and sermons were dry and unfavoury, full of airy cant, or of bombast swellings. Sometimes he went over to *Flanders*, to see what he could find in the several Orders of the Church of *Rome*. There he found some of *Jansenius's* followers, who seemed to be men of extraordinary tempers, and studied to bring things, if possible, to the purity and simplicity of the primitive ages; on which all his thoughts were much set. He thought controversies had been too much insisted on, and had been carried too far. His brother, who thought of nothing but the raising himself at Court, fancied that his being made a Bishop might render himself more considerable. So he possessed the Lord *Aubigny* with such an opinion of him, that he made the King apprehend, that a man of his piety and his notions (and his not being married

married was not forgot ) might contribute to carry on their design. He fancied such a most perfect man, who had a great stretch of thought, and so many other eminent qualities, would be a mean at least to prepare the nation for Popery, if he did not directly come over to them, for his brother did not stick to say, he was sure that lay at root with him. So the King named him of his own proper motion, which gave all those that began to suspect the King himself great jealousies of him. *Leighton* was averse to this promotion, as much as was possible. His brother had great power over him; for he took care to hide his vices from him, and to make before him a shew of piety. He seemed to be a Papist rather in name and shew than in reality, of which I will set down one instance that was then much talked of. Some of the Church of *England* loved to magnify the Sacrament in an extraordinary manner, affirming the real presence, only blaming the Church of *Rome* for defining the manner of it; saying, *Christ* was present in a most unconceivable manner. This was so much the mode, that the King and all the Court went into it. So the King, upon some raillery about transubstantiation, asked Sir *Elisha* if he believed it. He answered, he could not well tell; but he was sure the Church of *England* believed it. And when the King seemed amazed at that, he replied, do not you believe that *Christ* is present in a most unconceivable manner? Which the King granted. Then, said he that is just transubstantiation, the most unconceivable thing that was ever yet invented. When *Leighton* was prevailed on to accept a Bishoprick he

he chose *Dunblane*, a small Diocese as well as a little revenue. But the Deanry of the Chapel Royal was annexed to that See. So he was willing to engage in that, that he might set up the Common Prayer in the King's Chapel; for the rebuilding of which orders were given. The *English* Clergy were well pleased with him, finding him both more learned, and more thoroughly theirs in the other points of uniformity, than the rest of the *Scotch* Clergy, whom they could not much value. And tho' *Sheldon* did not much like his great strictness, in which he had no mind to imitate him, yet he thought such a man as he was might give credit to Episcopacy, in its first introduction to a nation much prejudiced against it. *Sharp* did not know what to make of all this. He neither liked his strictness of life, nor his notions. He believed, they would not take the same methods, and fancied he might be much obscured by him; for he saw he would be well supported. He saw the Earl of *Lauderdale* began to magnify him. And so *Sharp* did all he could to discourage him, but without any effect; for he had no regard to him. I bear still the greatest veneration for the memory of that man that I do for any person; and reckon my early knowledge of him, which happened the year after this, and my long and intimate conversation with him, that continued to his death for twenty three years, among the greatest blessings of my life, and for which I know I must give an account to God in the great day in a most particular manner. And yet, tho' I know this account of his promotion may seem a blemish upon him, I would not conceal it, being



1661 Being resolved to write of all persons and things with all possible candor. I had the relation of it from himself, and more particularly from his brother. But what hopes soever the Papists had of him at this time; when he knew nothing of the design of bringing in Popery, and had therefore talked of some points of Popery with the freedom of an abstracted and speculative man; yet he expressed another sense of the matter, when he came to see it was really intended to be brought in among us. He then spoke of Popery in the complex at much another rate. And he seemed to have more zeal against it, than I thought was in his nature with relation to any points in controversy; for his abstraction made him seem cold in all those matters. But he gave all who conversed with him a very different view of Popery, when he saw we were really in danger of coming under the power of a religion, that had, as he used to say, much of the wisdom that was earthly, sensual, and devilish, but had nothing in it of the wisdom that was from above, and was pure and peaceable. He did indeed think the corruptions and cruelties of Popery were such gross and odious things, that nothing could have maintained that Church under those just and visible prejudices, but the several Orders among them, which had an appearance of mortification and contempt of the world, and with all the trash that was among them maintained a face of piety and devotion. He also thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation was, that more of those houses, and of that course of life, free from the entanglements

plements of vows and other mixtures, was not preserved: So that the Protestant Churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers. I have dwelt long upon this man's character. But it was so singular that it seemed to deserve it. And I was so singularly bless'd by knowing him as I did, that I am sure he deserved it of me, that I should give so full a view of him; which I hope may be of some use to the world

1661,

WHEN the time fixed for the consecration of the Bishops of Scotland came on, the English Bishops finding that *Sharp* and *Leightoun* had not Episcopal ordination, as Priests and Deacons, the other two having been ordained by Bishops before the wars, they stood upon it, that they must be ordain'd, first Deacons and then Priests. *Sharp* was very uneasie at this, and remembred them of what had happened when King *James* set up Episcopacy. Bishop *Andrews* moved at that time the ordaining them, as was now propos'd: But that was overruled by King *James*, who thought it went too far towards the unchurching of all those who had no Bishops among them. But the late war, & the disputes during that time, had rais'd these controversies higher, and brought men to stricter notions, and to maintain them with more fierceness. The English Bishops did also say, that by the late act of uniformity that matter was more positively settled, than it had been before; so that they could not legally consecrate any, but those who were, according to that constitution, made first Priest and Deacons. They also made this difference between the pre-

The  
Scottish  
Bishops  
consecra-  
ted.

1661. sent time and King *James's*; that then the *Scots* were only in an imperfect state, having never had Bishops among them since the Reformation: so in such a state of things, in which they had been under a real necessity, it was reasonable to allow of their orders, how defective soever: But that of late they had been in a state of schism, had revolted from their Bishops, and had thrown off that order; so that orders given in such a wilful opposition to the whole constitution of the primitive Church was a thing of another nature. They were positive in the point, and would not dispense with it. *Sharp* stuck more at it, than could have been expected from a man that had swallowed down greater matters. *Leightoun* did not stand much upon it. He did not think orders given without Bishops were null and void. He thought, the forms of government were not settled by such positive laws as were unalterable; but only by Apostolical practices, which, as he thought, authorised Episcopacy as the best form. Yet he did not think it necessary to the being of a Church. But he thought that every Church might make such rules of ordination as they pleased, and that they might re-ordain all that came to them from any other Church; and that the re-ordaining a Priest ordained in another Church imported no more, but that they received him into orders according to their rules, and did not infer the annulling the orders he had formerly received. These two were upon this privately ordained Deacons and Priests. And then all the jour were consecrated publickly in the Abbey of *Westminster*. *Leightoun* told me, he was much struck



struck with the feasting and jollity of that day; It had not such an appearance of seriousness or piety, as became the new modelling of a Church. When that was over, he made some attempts to work up *Sharp* to the two designs which possessed him most. The one was, to try what could be done towards the uniting the Presbyterians and them. He offered *Usher's* reduction, as the plan upon which they ought to form their schemes. The other was, to try how they could raise men to a truer and higher sense of piety; and bring the worship of that Church out of their *extempore* methods into more order; and so to prepare them for a more regular way of worship, which he thought was of much more importance than a form of government. But he was amazed, when he observed that *Sharp* had neither formed any scheme, nor seemed so much as willing to talk of any. He reckoned, they would be established in the next session of Parliament, and so would be legally possessed of their Bishopricks: And then every Bishop was to do the best he could to get all once to submit to his authority: And when that point was carried, they might proceed to other things, as should be found expedient: But he did not care to lay down any scheme. *Fairfoul*, when he talked to him, had always a merry tale ready at hand to divert him: So that he avoided all serious discourse, and indeed did not seem capable of any. By these means *Leighton* quickly lost all heart and hope; and said often to me upon it, that in the whole progress of that affair there appeared such cross characters of an angry providence, that, how fully soever he

1661.

was satisfied in his own mind as to Episcopacy itself, yet it seemed that God was against them, and that they were not like to be the men that should build up his Church; so that the struggling about it seemed to him like a fighting against God. He who had the greatest hand in it proceeded with so much dissimulation; and the rest of the order were so mean, and so selfish; and the Earl of *Midletoun*, with the other secular men that conducted it, were so openly impious and vicious, that it did cast a reproach on every thing relating to religion to see it managed by such instruments.

1662.

The meetings of the  
Presbyteries forbid-  
den.

ALL the steps that were made afterwards were of a piece with this melancholy beginning. Upon the consecration of the Bishops, the Presbyteries of *Scotland* that were still sitting began now to declare openly against Episcopacy, and to prepare protestations, or other acts or instruments, against them. Some were talking of entering into new engagements against the submitting to them. So *Sharp* moved, that, since the King had set up Episcopacy, a Proclamation might be issued out, forbidding Clergymen to meet together in any Presbytery, or other judicatory, till the Bishops should settle a method of proceeding in them. Upon the setting out this Proclamation, a general obedience was given to it: Only the Ministers, to keep up a shew of acting on an Ecclesiastick authority, met once and entered into their Books a protestation against the Proclamation, as an invasion on the liberties of the Church, to which they declared they gave obedience only for a time, and for peace sake. *Sharp* procured this without any

1661.

any advice: And it proved very fatal. For when King *James* brought in the Bishops before, they had still suffered the inferiour judicatories to continue sitting, till the Bishops came, and sate down among them. Some of them protested indeed against that: Yet they sate on ever after: And so the whole Church had a face of unity, while all sate together in the same judicatories, tho' upon different principles. The old Presbyterians said, they sate still as in a Court settled by the laws of the Church and State: And tho' they looked on the Bishops sitting among them, and assuming a negative vote, as an usurpation, yet, they said, it did not infer a nullity on the Court: Whereas now, by this silencing those Courts, the case was much altered. For if they had continued sitting, and the Bishops had come among them, they would have said, it was like the bearing with an usurpation, when there was no remedy: And what protestations soever they might have made, or what opposition soever they might have given the Bishops, that would have been kept within their own walls, but would not have broken out into such a distraction, as the nation was cast into upon this. All the opposition that might have been made would have died with those few that were disposed to make it: And, upon due care to fill the vacant places with worthy and well affected men, the nation might have been brought off from their prejudices. But these Courts being now once broken, and brought together afterwards by a sort of connivance, without any legal authority, only as the Bishops assistants and officials, to give him



1662.

advice, and to act in his name, they pretended they could not sit in them any more, unless they should change their principles and become thoroughly Episcopal, which was too great a turn to be soon brought about. So fatally did *Sharp* precipitate matters. He affected to have the reins of the Church wholly put into his hands. The Earl of *Lauderdale* was not sorry to see him commit errors; since the worse things were managed, his advices would be thereby the more justified. And the Earl of *Middleton* and his party took no care of any business, being almost perpetually drunk: By which they came in a great measure to loose the King. For, tho', upon a frolick, the King, with a few in whose company he took pleasure, would sometimes run into excess, yet he did it seldom, and had a very bad opinion of all that got into the habit and love of drunkenness.

The new  
Bishops  
come  
down to  
Scotland.

THE Bishops came down to *Scotland* soon after their consecration, all in one coach. *Leighton* told me, he believed they were weary of him, for he was very weary of them: But he, finding they intended to be received at *Edenburgh* with some pomp, left them at *Morpeth*, and came to *Edenburgh* a few days before them. He hated all the appearances of vanity. He would not have the title of Lord given him by his friends, and was not easy when others forced it on him. In this I always thought him too stiff: It provoked the other Bishops, and looked like singularity and affectation, and furnished those that were prejudiced against him with a specious appearance, to represent him as a man of odd notions and practices. The Lord Chan-

cellour,

cellour, with all the Nobility and Privy Coun- 1662.  
cellours, then at *Edenburgh*, went out, toge-  
ther with the Magistracy of the city, & brought  
the Bishops in, as in triumph. I looked on;  
And tho' I was thoroughly Episcopal, yet I  
thought there was somewhat in the pomp of  
that entry, that did not look like the humility  
that became their function. Soon after their ar-  
rival, six others Bishops were consecrated, but  
not ordained Priests and Deacons. The See  
of *Edenburgh* was for some time kept vacant.  
*Sharp* hoped that *Douglas* might be prevailed on  
to accept it: But he would enter into no treaty  
about it. So the Earl of *Midletoun* forced upon  
*Sharp* one *Wishart*, who had been the Marquis  
of *Montrose's* Chaplain, and had been taken  
prisoner, and used with so much cruelty in the  
jail of *Edenburgh*, that it seem'd but justice to  
advance a man in that place, where he had  
suffer'd so much.

THE session of Parliament came on in A- They wer  
pril 1662: Where the first thing that was brought  
proposed by the Earl of *Midletoun* was, that since into Par-  
the act rescissory had annulled all the Parlia- liament  
ments after that held in the year 1633, the for-  
mer laws in favour of Episcopacy were now  
again in force, & the King had restored that func-  
tion which had been so long glorious in the  
Church, and for which his blessed father had  
suffered so much: And tho' the Bishops had a  
right to come and take their place in Parlia-  
ment, yet it was a piece of respect to send some  
of every state to invite them to come, and sit  
among them. This was agreed to; So upon  
the message the Bishops came and took their  
P 4 places.

1662. places. *Leightoun* went not with them, as indeed he never came to Parliament but when there was something before them that related to religion, or to the Church.

THE first act that passed in this session was for restoring Episcopacy, and settling the government of the Church in their hands. *Sharp* had the framing of this act, as *Primerose* told me. The whole government and jurisdiction of the Church in the several Dioceses was declared to be lodged in the Bishops, which they were to exercise with the advice and assistance of such of their clergy, as were of known loyalty and prudence. All men that held any benefice in the Church were required to own and submit to the government of the Church, as now by law established. This was plainly setting Episcopacy on another bottom, than it had been ever on in *Scotland* before this time: For the whole body of the Presbyterians did formerly maintain such a share in the administration, that the Bishops had never pretended to any more, than to be their settled Presidents with a negative voice upon them. But now it was said, that the whole power was lodged simply in the Bishop, who was only bound to carry along with him in the administration so many Presbyters, as he thought fit to single out, as his advisers and assistants; which was the taking all power out of the body of the Clergy: Church judicatories were now made only the Bishop's assistants: And the few of the Clergy that must assist being to be pickt out by him, that was only a matter of shew; nor had they any authority lodged with them, all that being vested  
only



only in the Bishop. Nor did it escape censure, that among the qualifications of those Presbyters that were to be the Bishop's advisers and assistants, loyalty and prudence were only named; and that piety and learning were forgot, which must always be reckoned the first qualifications of the Clergy. As to the obligation to own and submit to the government thus established by law, they said, it was hard to submit to so high an authority as was now lodged with the Bishops; but to require them to own it, seemed to import an antecedent approving, or at least a subsequent justifying of such an authority, which carried the matter far beyond a bare obedience, even to an imposing upon conscience. These were not only the exceptions made by the Presbyterians, but by the Episcopal men themselves, who had never carried the argument farther in *Scotland*, than for a precedency, with some authority in ordination, and a negative in matters of jurisdiction. They thought, the body of the Clergy ought to be a check upon the Bishops, and that, without the consent of the majority, they ought not be legally empowered to act in so imperious a manner, as was warranted by this act. Many of them would never subscribe to this form of owning and submitting: And the more prudent Bishops did not impose it on their Clergy. The whole frame of the act was liable to great censure. It was thought an unexcusable piece of madness, that, when a government was brought in upon a nation so averse to it, the first step should carry their power so high. All the Bishops, except *Sharp*, disowned their having any share

1662,

1662.

in the penning this act; which indeed was pass'd in haste, without due consideration. Nor did any of the Bishops, no not *Sharp* himself, ever carry their authority so high, as by the act they were warranted to do. But all the enemies to Episcopacy had this act ever in their mouths, to excuse their not submitting to it; and said, it asserted a greater stretch of authority in Bishops, than they themselves thought fit to assume.

Scruples about the oath of supremacy.

SOON after that act pass'd, some of the Presbyterian preachers were summoned to answer before the Parliament for some reflections made in their sermons against Episcopacy. But nothing could be made of it: For their words were general, and capable of different senses. So it was resolved, for a proof of their loyalty, to tender them the oath of allegiance and supremacy. That had been enacted in the former Parliament, and was refused by none, but the Earl of *Cassilis*. He desired, that an explanation might be made of the supremacy: The words of the oath were large: And when the oath was enacted in *England*, a clear explanation was given in one of the articles of the Church of *England*, and more copiously afterwards in a discourse by Archbishop *Usher*, published by King *James's* order. But the Parliament would not satisfy him so far. And they were well pleased to see scruples raised about the oath, that so a colour might be put on their severities against such as should refuse it, as being men that refused to swear allegiance to the King. Upon that the Earl of *Cassilis* left the Parliament, and quitted all his employments: For he was a man of a most inflexible firmness. Many said, there

was

was no need of an explanation, since how ambiguous soever the words might be in themselves, yet that oath, being brought to *Scotland* from *England*, ought to be understood in the same sense in which it was imposed in that Kingdom. On the other hand, there was just reason for some mens being tender in so sacred a matter as an oath. The Earl of *Cassilis* had offered to take the oath, provided he might join his explanation to it. The Earl of *Midletoun* was contented to let him say what he pleased, but he would not suffer him to put it in writing. The Ministers, to whom it was now tendred, offered to take it upon the same terms; and in a petition to the Lords of the articles they offered their explanation. Upon that a debate arose, whether an act explanatory of the oath should be offered to the Parliament, or not. This was the first time that *Leightoun* appeared in Parliament. He pressed, it might be done, with much zeal. He said, the land mourned by reason of the many oaths that had been taken: The words of this oath were certainly capable of a bad sense: In compassion to Papists a limited sense had been put on them in *England*: And he thought there should be a like tenderness shewed to Protestants, especially when the scruple was just, and there was an oath in the case, in which the matter ought certainly to be made clear: To act otherwise looked like the laying snares for people, and the making men offenders for a word. *Sharp* took this ill from him, and replied upon him with great bitterness: And said, it was below the dignity of a government to make acts to satisfy the weak scruples of peevish



1662.

peevish men: It ill became them, who had imposed their Covenant on all people without any explanation, and had forced all to take it, now to expect such extraordinary favours. *Leightoun* insisted, that it ought to be done for that very reason, that all people might see a difference between the mild proceedings of the government now, and their severity; And that it ill became the very same persons, who had complained of that rigour, now to practise it themselves; for thus it may be said, the world goes mad by turns. This was ill taken by the Earl of *Middleton*, and all his party: For they designed to keep the matter so, that the Presbyterians should be possessed with many scruples on this head; and that, when any of the party should be brought before them, whom they believed in fault, but had not full proof against, the oath should be tendred as the trial of their allegiance, and that on their refusing it they should censure them as they thought fit. So the Ministers petition was rejected, and they were required to take the oath as it stood in the law, without putting any sense upon it. They refused to do it, and were upon that condemned to perpetual banishment, as men that denied allegiance to the King. And by this an engine was found out to banish as many they pleased: For the resolution was taken up by the whole party to refuse it, unless with an explanation. So soon did men forget all their former complaints of the severity of imposing oaths, and began to set on foot the same practices now, when they had it in their power to do it. But how unbecoming soever this rigour might be in

Laymen

Laymen, it was certainly much more indecent when managed by Clergy-men. And the supremacy which was now turned against the Presbyterians, was not long after this laid much heavier on the Bishops themselves: And then they desired an explanation, as much as the Presbyterians did now, but could not obtain it.

THE Parliament was not satisfied with this oath: For they apprehended, that many would infer, that, since it came from *England*, it ought to be understood in the publick and established sense of the words that was pass'd there, both in an article of doctrine and in an act of Parliament. Therefore another oath was likewise taken from the *English* pattern, of abjuring the Covenant; both the League & national Covenant. It is true, this was only imposed on men in the magistracy, or in publick employments. By it all the Presbyterians were turned out: For this oath was decried by the Ministers as little less than open apostacy from God, and a throwing off their baptismal Covenant.

THE main business of this session of Parliament, now that Episcopacy was settled, and these oaths were enacted, was the passing of the act of indemnity. The Earl of *Middleton* had obtained of the King an instruction to consent to the fining of the chief offenders, or to other punishments not extending to life. This was intended to enrich him and his party, since all the rich and great offenders would be struck with the terror of this, and choose rather to make him a good present, than to be fined on record, as guilty persons. This matter was debated at the Council  
in

1662.

Debates about an act of indemnity

1662.

in *Whitehall*. The Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Crawford* argued against it. They said, the King had granted a full indemnity in *England*, out of which none were excepted but the regicides. It seemed therefore an unkind and an unequal way of proceeding towards *Scotland*, that had merited eminently at the King's hands ever since the year 1648, and suffered much for it, that the one Kingdom should not have the same measure of grace and pardon that was granted in the other. The Earl of *Midletoun* answered, that all he desired was in favour of the loyal party in *Scotland*, who were undone by their adhering to the King: The revenue of the Crown was too small, and too much charged, to repair their losses: So the King had no other way to be just to them, but to make their enemies pay for their rebellion. Some plausible limitations were offered to the fines to which any should be condemned; as that they should be only for offences committed since the year 1650, and that no man should be fined in above a year's rent of his estate. These were agreed to. So he had an instruction to pass an act of indemnity, with a power of fining restrain'd to these rules. There was one Sir *George Mackenzie*, since made Lord *Tarbat* and Earl of *Cromarty*, a young man of great vivacity of parts, but full of ambition, and had the art to recommend himself to all sides and parties by turns, and has made a great figure in that country now above fifty years. He had great notions of virtue and religion: But they were only notions, at least they have not had great effect on himself at all times. He became now the Earl of *Midletoun's*



*Midletoun's* chief favourite. *Primeroſe* was grown rich and cautious: And his maxim having always been, that, when he apprehended a change, he ought to lay in for it by courting the ſide that was depreſſed, that ſo in the next turn he might ſecure friends to himſelf, he began to think that the Earl of *Midletoun* went too faſt to hold out long. He had often adviſed him to manage the buſineſs of reſtoring Epiſcopacy in a ſlow progreſs. He had formed a ſcheme by which it would have been the work of ſeven years. But the Earl of *Midletoun's* heat, and *Sharp's* vehemence ſpoiled all his project. The Earl of *Midletoun* after his own diſgrace ſaid often to him, that his advices had been always wiſe and faithful: But he thought Princes were more ſenſible of ſervices, and more apt to reflect on them, and to reward them, than he found they were.

1662.

WHEN the ſettlement of Epiſcopacy was over, the next care was to prepare the act of indemnity. Some propoſed, that, beſides the power of fining, they ſhould move the King, that he would conſent to an inſtruction, empowering them likewiſe to put ſome under an incapacity to hold any publick truſt. This had never been propoſed in publick. But the Earl of *Midletoun* pretended, that many of the beſt affected of the Parliament had propoſed it in private to himſelf. So he ſent the Lord *Tarbat* up to the King with two draughts of an act of indemnity, the one containing an exception of ſome perſons to be fined, and the other containing likewiſe a clauſe for the incapacitating of ſome, not exceeding twelve, from all

It was deſired that ſome might be incapacitated:

1662. all publick trust. He was ordered to lay both before the King: The one was penned according to the Earl of *Midletoun*'s instructions: The other was drawn at the desire of the Parliament, for which he prayed an instruction, if the King thought fit to approve of it. The Earl of *Lauderdale* had no apprehension of any design against himself in the motion. So he made no objection to it. And an instruction was drawn, empowering the Earl of *Midletoun* to pass an act with that clause. *Tarbat* was then much considered at Court, as one of the most extraordinary men that *Scotland* had produced; and was the better liked, because he was looked on as the person that the Earl of *Midletoun* intended to set up in the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s room, who was then so much hated, that nothing could have preserved him but the course that was taken to ruine him. So Lord *Tarbat* went back to *Scotland*. And the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Newburgh* went down with him, by whose wild and ungoverned extravagancies the Earl of *Midletoun*'s whole conduct fell under such an universal odium, and so much contempt, that, as his own ill management forced the King to put an end to his ministry, so he could not have served there much longer with any reputation.

ONE instance of unusual severity was, that a letter of the Lord *Lorn*'s to the Lord *Duffus* was intercepted, in which he did a little too plainly, but very truly, complain of the practices of his enemies in endeavouring to possess the King against him by many lies: But he said, he had now discovered them, and had  
defeated

1662.

defeated them, and had gained the person upon whom the chief among them depended. This was the Earl of *Clarendon*, upon whom the Earl of *Berkshire* had wrought so much, that he resolved to oppose his restoration no more: And for this the Earl of *Berkshire* was to have a thousand pounds. This letter was carried into the Parliament, and complained of as leasing-making; since Lord *Lorn* pretended, he had discovered the lies of his enemies to the King, which was a sowing dissension between the King and his subjects, and the creating in the King an ill opinion of them. So the Parliament desired, the King would send him down to be tried upon it. The King thought the letter very indiscreetly writ, but could not see any thing in it that was criminal. Yet, in compliance with the desire of so zealous a Parliament, Lord *Lorn* was sent down upon his parole: But the King wrote positively to the Earl of *Middleton*, not to proceed to the execution of any sentence that might pass upon him. Lord *Lorn* upon his appearance was made a prisoner: And an Indictment was brought against him for leasing-making. He made no defence: But in a long speech he set out the great provocation he had been under, the many libels that had been printed against him: Some of these had been put in the King's own hands, to represent him as unworthy of his grace and favour: So, after all that hard usage, it was no wonder, if he had writ with some sharpness. But he protested, he meant no harm to any person; his design being only to preserve and save himself from the malice and lies of others, and

Q

not



1662.

*Lorn con-  
demned.*

not to make lies of any. In conclusion, he submitted to the justice of the Parliament, and cast himself on the King's mercy. He was upon this condemned to die, as guilty of leasing-making: And the day of his execution was left to the Earl of *Midletoun* by the Parliament.

I never knew any thing more generally cried out on than this was, unless it was the second sentence pass'd on him twenty years after this, which had more fatal effects, and a more tragical conclusion. He was certainly born to be the signalest instance in this age of the rigour, or rather of the mockery, of justice. All that was said at this time to excuse the proceeding was, that it was certain his life was in no danger. But since that depended on the King, it did not excuse those who pass'd so base a sentence, and left to posterity the precedent of a Parliamentary judgment, by which any man may be condemned for a letter of common news. This was not all the fury with which this matter was driven: For an act was pass'd against all persons, who should move the King for restoring the children of those who were attainted by Parliament; which was an unheard-of restraint on applications to the King for his grace and mercy. This the Earl of *Midletoun* also pass'd, tho' he had no instruction for it. There was no penalty put in the act: For it was a maxim of the pleaders for prerogative, that the fixing a punishment was a limitation on the Crown: Whereas an act forbidding any thing, tho' without a penalty, made the offenders criminal: And in that case they did reckon, that the punishment was arbitrary; only that it could not extend to life. A

Com-

1682.

Committee was next appointed for setting the fines. They proceeded without any regard to the rules the King had set them. The most obnoxious compounded secretly. No consideration was had either of mens crimes, or of their estates: No proofs were brought: Enquiries were not so much as made: But as men were delated, they were marked down for for such a fine: And all was transacted in a secret Committee. When the list of the men & of their fines was read in Parliament, exceptions were made to divers; particularly some who had been under age all the time of transgression, and others abroad. But to every thing of that kind an answer was made, that there would come a proper time in which every man was to be heard in his own defence: For the meaning of setting the fine was only this, taht such persons should have no benefit by the act of indemnity, unless they paid the fine: Therefore every one that could stand upon his innocence, and renounce the benefit of the indemnity, was thereby free from the fine, which was only his composition for the grace and pardon of the act. So all pass'd in that great hurry.

THE other point, concerning the incapacity, was carried farther than was perhaps intended at first; tho' the Lord *Tarbat* assured me, he had from the beginning designed it. It was infused into all people, that the King was weary of the Earl of *Lauderdale*, but that he could not decently throw him off, and that therefore the Parliament must help him with a fair pretence for doing it. Yet others were very apprehensive, that the King could not approve

Some inca-  
pacitated  
by ballois

1662. of a Parliament's falling upon a Minister. So Lord *Tarbat* proposed two expedients. The one was, that no person should be named, but that every member should do it by ballot, and should bring twelve names in a paper; and that a secret Committee of three of every Estate should make the scrutiny; and that they, without making any report to the Parliament, should put those twelve names on whom the greater number fell in the act of incapacity; which was to be an act apart, and not made a clause of the act of indemnity. This was taken from the ostracism in *Athens*, and seemed the best method in an act of oblivion, in which all that was pass'd was to be forgotten: And no seeds of feuds would remain, when it was not so much as known against whom any one had voted. The other expedient was, that a clause should be put in the act, that it should have no force, and that the names in it should never be published, unless the King should approve of it. By this means it was hoped, that, if the King should dislike the whole thing, yet it would be easy to soften that, by letting him see how entirely the act was in his power. Emissaries were sent to every Parliament man, directing him how to make his list, that so the Earls of *Lauderdale*, *Crawford*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, might be three of the number. This was managed so carefully, that by a great majority they were three of the incapacitated persons. The Earl of *Midletoun* pass'd the act, tho' he had no instruction about it in this form. The matter was so secretly carried, that it was not let out till the day before it was done: For they reckoned their



their success in it was to depend on the secrecy of it, and in their carrying it to the King, before he should be possessed against it by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, or his party. So they took great care to visit the packet, and to stop any that should go to Court post: And all people were under such terror, that no courage was left. Only Lord *Lorn* sent one on his own horses, who was to go on incross roads, till he got into *Yorksire*, for they had secured every stage to *Durham*. By this means the Earl of *Lauderdale* had the news three days before the Duke of *Richmond* and Lord *Tarbat* got to Court. He carried it presently to the King, who could scarce believe it. But when he saw by the letters that it was certainly true, he assured the Earl of *Lauderdale*, that he would preserve him, and never suffer such a destructive precedent to pass. He said, he looked for no better upon the Duke of *Richmond's* going to *Scotland*, and his being perpetually drunk there. This mortified the Earl of *Lauderdale*; for it looked like the laying in an excuse for the Earl of *Midletoun*. From the King, by his orders, he went to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and told all to him. He was amazed at it; and said, that certainly he had some secret friend that had got into their confidence, and had persuaded them to do as they had done on design to ruine them. But growing more serious, he added, he was sure the King on his own account would take care not to suffer such a thing to pass: Otherwise no man could serve him: If way was given to such a method of proceeding, he himself would go out of his dominions as fast as his gout would suffer him.

1662.

The King  
was dis-  
pleased  
with this.

1662.

TWO days after this the Duke of *Richmond* and Lord *Tarbat* came to Court. They brought the act of incapacity sealed up, together with a letter from the Parliament, magnifying the Earl of *Midletoun*'s services, and another letter signed by ten of the Bishops, setting forth his zeal for the Church, and his care of them all: And in particular they set out the design he was then on, of going round some of the worst affected Counties to see the Church established in them, as a work that was highly meritorious. At the same time he sent over the Earl of *Newburgh* to *Ireland*, to engage the Duke of *Ormond* to represent to the King the good effects that they began to feel in that Kingdom from the Earl of *Midletouns* administration in *Scotland*, hoping the King would not discourage, much less change so faithful a Minister. The King received the Duke of *Richmond* and Lord *Tarbat* very coldly. When they delivered the act of incapacity to him, he assured them, it should never be open'd by him; and said, their last actings were like madmen, or like men that were perpetually drunk. Lord *Tarbat* said, all was yet entire, and in his hands, the act being to live or to die as he pleased: He magnified the Earl of *Midletoun*'s zeal in his service, and the loyal affections of his Parliament, who had on this occasion consulted both the King's safety, and his honour: The incapacity act was only intended, to put it out of the power of men, who had been formerly bad instruments, to be so any more: And even that was submitted by them to the King's judgment. The King heard them patiently, and, without any

any farther discourse on the subject, dismissed them: So they hoped they had mollified him. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* turned the matter upon the Earl of *Midletoun* and Lord *Tarbat*, who had made the King believe that the Parliament desired leave to incapacitate some, whereas no such desire had ever been made in Parliament: And then, after the King, upon that misrepresentation, had given way to it, the Parliament was made believe that the King desired that some might be put under that censure: So that the abuse had been equally put on both. Honours went by ballot at *Venice*: But punishments had never gone so, since the ostracism at *Athens*, which was the factious practice of a jealous Commonwealth, never to be set up as a precedent under a Monarchy: Even the *Athenians* were ashamed of it, when *Aristides*, the justest man among them, fell under the censure: And they laid it aside not long after.

THE Earl of *Clarendon* gave up the thing as inexcusable: But he studied to preserve the Earl of *Midletoun*. The change newly made in the Church of *Scotland* had been managed by him with zeal and success: But tho' it was well begun, yet if these laws were not maintained by a vigorous execution, the Presbyterians, who were quite dispirited by the steadiness of his conduct, would take heart again; especially if they saw the Earl of *Lauderdale* grow upon him, whom they looked on as theirs in his heart: So he prayed the King to forgive one single fault, that came after so much merit. He also sent advices to the Earl of *Midletoun* to go on in his care of establishing the Church,

Great pains  
taken to  
excuse  
*Midletoun*.



1662.

and to get the Bishops to send up copious accounts of all that he had done. The King ordered him to come up, and to give him an account of the affairs in *Scotland*: But he represented the absolute necessity of seeing some of the laws lately made put in execution: For it was hoped, the King's displeasure would be allayed, and go off, if some time could be but gained.

The Pres-  
byterian  
Ministers  
silenced.

ONE act pass'd in the last Parliament that restored the rights of Patronage, the taking away of which even Presbytery could not carry till the year 1649, in which they had the Parliament entirely in their hands. Then the election of Ministers was put in the Church Session and the lay Elders: So that, from that time all that had been admitted to Churches came in without presentations. One clause in the act declared all those incumbents to be unlawful possessors: Only it indemnified them for what was past, and required them before *Michaelmas* to take presentations from the Patrons, who were obliged to give them being demanded, and to get themselves to be instituted by the Bishops; otherwise their Churches were declared vacant on *Michaelmas* day. This took in all the young and hot men: So the Presbyterians had many meetings about it, in which they all resolved not to obey the act. They reckoned, the taking institution from a Bishop was such an owning of his authority, that it was a renouncing of all their former principles: Whereas some few that had a mind to hold their benefices, thought that was only a secular law for a legal right to their tithes and benefices, and had no relation to their

their  
they  
were  
upon  
resolu  
terians  
acts  
see wh  
taken  
ed by  
resol  
and all  
disorde  
cesses  
their d  
calm e  
He had  
he belie  
rather  
he dec  
utmost  
the Pr  
bers w  
be poss  
that th  
them i  
made,  
destitu  
that w  
ed mo  
slowly  
factiou  
them o  
put in  
more i

their spiritual concerns; & therefore they thought they might submit to it, especially where Bishops were so moderate as to impose no subscription upon them, as the greater part were. But the resolution taken by the main body of the Presbyterians was, to pay no obedience to any of the acts made in this session, and to look on, and see what the State would do. The Earl of *Midleton* was naturally fierce, and that was heightened by the ill state of his affairs at Court: So he resolved on a punctual execution of the law. He and all about him were at this time so constantly disordered by high entertainments and other excesses, that, even in the short intervals between their drunken bouts, they were not cool nor calm enough to consider what they were doing. He had also so mean an opinion of the party, that he believed they would comply with any thing rather than lose their benefices. And therefore he declared, he would execute the law in its utmost rigour. On the other hand, the heads of the Presbyterians reckoned, that if great numbers were turned out all at once, it would not be possible to fill their places on the sudden, & that the government would be forced to take them in again, if there were such a vacancy made, that a great part of the nation were cast destitute, and had no divine service in it. For that which all the wiser of the party apprehended most was, that the Bishops would go on slowly, and single out some that were more factious upon particular provocations, and turn them out by degrees, as they had men ready to put in their room; which would have been more insensible, and more excusable, if indis-

1662. creet zealots had, as it were, forced censures from them. The advice sent over all the country, from their leaders who had settled measures at *Edinburgh*, was, that they should do and say nothing that might give a particular distaste, but should look on, and do their duty as long as they were connived at; and that if any proclamation should be issued out, commanding them to be silent, they should all obey at once. In these measures both sides were deceived in their expectations. The Bishops went to their several Dioceses: And according as the people stood affected they were well or ill received: And they held their Synods every where in *October*. In the northern parts very few stood out: But in the western parts scarce any came to them. The Earl of *Midletoun* went to *Glasgow* before *Michaeimass*. So when the time fixed by the act was pass'd, and that scarce any one in all those Counties had paid any regard to it, he called a meeting of the Privy Council, that they might consider what was fit to be done. Duke *Hamilton* told me, they were all so drunk that day, that they were not capable of considering any thing that was laid before them, and would hear of nothing but the executing the law without any relenting or delay. So a proclamation was issued out, requiring all who had their livings without presentations, & who had not obeyed the late act, to give over all farther preaching, or serving the cure, and to withdraw from their parishes immediately: And the military men that lay in the country were ordered to pull them out of their pulpits, if they should presume to go on in their func-

ions



ions. This was opposed only by Duke *Hamilton*, and Sir *James Lockhart*, father to Sir *William Lockhart*. They represented, that the much greater part of the Preachers in these Counties had come into their Churches since the year 1649; that they were very popular men, both esteemed and beloved of their people: It would be a great scandal, if they should be turned out, & none be ready to be put in their places: And it would not be possible to find a competent number of well qualified men, to fill the many vacancies that this proclamation would make. The Earl of *Midletoun* would hear of nothing, but the immediate execution of the law. So the proclamation was issued out: And upon it above two hundred Churches were shut up in one day: And above one hundred and fifty more were to be turned out for not obeying and submitting to the Bishops summons to their synods. All this was done without considering the consequence of it, or communicating it to the other Bishops. *Sharp* said to my self, that he knew nothing of it; nor did he imagine, that so rash a thing could have been done, till he saw it in print. He was glad that this was done without his having any share in it: For by it he was furnished with some what, in which he was no way concerned, upon which he might cast all the blame of all that followed. Yet this was suitable enough to a maxim that he and all that sort of people set up, that the execution of laws was that by which all governments maintained their strength, as well as their honour. The Earl of *Midletoun* was surprized at this extraordinary submission of

1662. of the Presbyterians. He had fancied, that the greatest part would have complied, and that some of the more intractable would have done some extraordinary thing, to have justified the severities he would have exercised in that case; and was disappointed both ways. Yet this obedience of a party, so little accustomed to it, was much magnified at Court. It was said, that all plied before him: They knew he was steady: So they saw how necessary it was not to change the management, if it was really intended to preserve the Church. Lord *Tarbat* told me, that the King had expressed the esteem he had for *Sheldon*, upon the account of the courage that he shewed in the debate concerning the execution of the act of Uniformity at the day prefixed, which was *St. Bartholomew's*: For some suggested the danger that might arise, if the act were vigorously executed. From thence it seems the Earl of *Midletoun* concluded, the zeal he shewed now would be so acceptable, that all former errors would be forgiven, if he went through with it; as indeed he stuck at nothing. Yet the clamour of putting several Counties, as it were, under an interdict, was very great. So all endeavours were used to get as many as could be had to fill those vacancies. And among others I was much pressed, both by the Earl of *Glencairn* and the Lord *Tarbat*, to go into any of the vacant Churches that I liked. I was then but nineteen: Yet there is no law in *Scotland* limiting the age of a priest. And it was upon this account that I was let so far into the secret of all affairs: For they had such an imagination of some service I might do them,

1662.

them, that they treated me with a very particular freedom and confidence. But I had drunk in the principles of moderation so early, that tho' I was entirely Episcopal, yet I would not engage with a body of men, that seemed to have the principles and tempers of Inquisitors in them, and to have no regard to religion in any of their proceedings. So I stood upon my youth, and could not be wrought on to go to the west; tho' the Earl of *Glencairn* offered to carry me with him under his protection.

There was a sort of an invitation sent over the Kingdom, like a huy and cry, to all persons to accept of benefices in the west. The livings were generally well endowed, and the parsonage houses were well built, and in good repair: And this drew many very worthless persons thither, who had little learning, less piety and no sort of discretion. They came thither with great prejudices against them, and had many difficulties to wrestle with. The former incumbents, who were for the most part Protestors, were a grave solemn sort of people. Their spirits were eager, and their tempers sour: But they had an appearance that created respect. They were related to the chief families in the country, either by blood or marriage; and had lived in so decent a manner, that the Gentry paid great respect to them. They used to visit their parishes much, and were so full of the scriptures, and so ready at extempore prayer, that from that they grew to practice extempore sermons: For the custom in *Scotland* was after dinner or supper to read a chapter in the scripture: And where they happened to come, if it was accep-

A general character of them.



1662.

acceptable, they on the sudden expounded the chapter. They had brought the people to such a degree of knowledge, that cottagers and servants would have prayed [extempore]. I have often over heard them at it: And, tho' there was a large mixture of odd stuff, yet I have been astonish'd to hear how copious and ready they were in it. Their Ministers generally brought them about them on the Sunday nights, where the sermons were talk'd over; and every one, women as well as men, were desir'd to speak their sense and their experience: And by these means they had a comprehension of matters of religion, greater than I have seen among people of that sort any where. The preachers went all in one track; of raising observations on points of doctrine out of their text, and proving these by reasons, and then of applying those, and shewing the use that was to be made of such a point of doctrine, both for instruction and terrour, for exhortation and comfort, for trial of themselves upon it, and for furnishing them with proper directions and helps: And this was so methodical, that the people grew to follow a sermon quite through every branch of it. To this some added, the resolving of doubts concerning the state they were in, or their progress or decay in it; which they call'd cases of conscience: And these were taken from what their people said to them at any time, very oft being under fits of melancholy, or vapours, or obstructions, which, tho' they flow'd from natural causes, were look'd on as the work of the spirit of God, and a particular exercise to them; and they fed this dis-

case

case of weak minds too much. Thus they had laboured very diligently, tho' with a wrong method and wrong notions. But as they lived in great familiarity with their people, and used to pray and to talk oft with them in private, so it can hardly be imagined to what a degree they were loved and revered by them. They kept scandalous persons under a severe discipline: For breach of sabbath, for an oath, or the least disorder in drunkenness, persons were cited before the Church session, that consisted of ten or twelve of the chief of the parish, who with the Minister had this care upon them, and were solemnly reprov'd for it: For fornication they were not only reprov'd before these; but there was a high place in the Church called the stool, or pillar of repentance, where they sat at the times of worship for three Lords-day's, receiving admonitions, and making profession of repentance on all those days; which some did with many tears, and serious exhortations to all the rest, to take warning by their fall. For adultery they were to sit six months in that place, covered with sackcloth. These things had a grave appearance. Their faults and defects were not so conspicuous. They had a very scanty measure of learning, and a narrow compass in it. They were little men of a very indifferent size of capacity, and apt to fly out into great excess of passion and indiscretion. They were servile, and too apt to fawn upon, and flatter their admirers. They were affected in their deportment, and very apt to censure all who differed from them, and to believe and report whatsoever they heard to their prejudice. And they were super-

1662. superstitious and haughty. In their sermons they were apt to enlarge on the state of the present time, and to preach against the sins of Princes and Courts. A topic that naturally makes men popular. It has an appearance of courage. And the people are glad to hear those sins insisted on, in which they perceive they have no share; and to believe that all the judgments of God come down by the means and procurement of other mens sins. But their opinions about the independence of the Church and Clergy on the Civil power, and their readiness to stir up the people to tumults and wars, was that which begot so ill an opinion of them at this time in all men, that very few, who were not deeply engaged with them in these conceits, pitied them much under all the ill usage they now met with. I hope this is no impertinent nor ungrateful digression. It is a just and true account of these men and those times, from which a judicious reader will make good inferences. I will conclude this with a judicious answer that one of the wisest and best of them, *Colvil*, who succeeded *Lieghston* in the Headship of the College of *Edenburgh*, made to the Earl of *Middleton*, when he press'd him in the point of defensive arms to tell plainly his opinion, whether they were lawful or not. He said, the question had been often put to him, and he had always declined to answer it: But to him he plainly said, he wished that Kings and their Ministers would believe them lawful, and so govern as men that expect to be resisted; but he wished, that all their subjects would believe them to be unlawful, and so the world would be at quiet. I



I now return to end the account of the state of that country at this time. The people were much troubled, when so many of their Ministers were turned out. Their Ministers had, for some months before they were thus silenced, been infusing this into their people, both in publick and private; that all that was designed in this change of Church government was to destroy the power of godliness, and to give an impunity to vice; that Prelacy was a tyranny in the Church, set on by ambitious and covetous men, who aimed at nothing but authority and wealth, luxury and idleness; and that they intended to encourage vice, that they might procure to themselves a great party among the impious and immoral. The people, thus prepossessed, seeing the Earl of *Midletoun*, and all the train that followed him thro' those Counties, running into excesses of all sorts, and railing at the very appearance of vertue and sobriety, were confirmed in the belief of all that their Ministers had told them. What they had heard concerning *Sharp's* betraying those that had employed him, and the other Bishops, who had taken the Covenant, and had forced it on others, and now preach'd against it, openly owning that they had in so doing gone against the express dictates of their own conscience, did very much heighten all their prejudices, and fixed them so in them, that it was scarce possible to conquer them afterwards. All this was out of measure increased by the new incumbents, who were put in the places of the ejected preachers, and were generally very mean and despicable in all respects. They were the worst preachers I ever

1662.

Prejudices  
infused a-  
gainst  
Episcopa-  
cy.

R

heard:

1662. heard: They were ignorant to a reproach: And many of them were openly vitious. They were a disgrace to their orders, and the sacred functions; and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them, who arose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated, as the others were despised. This was the fatal beginning of restoring Episcopacy in *Scotland*, of which few of the Bishops seemed to have any sense. *Fairfoul*, the most concerned, had none at all: For he fell into a paralytick state, in which he languished a year before he died. I have thus opened the first settlement in *Scotland*: Of which I my self observed what was visible, and understood the more secret transactions from those, who had such a share in them, that it was not possible for them, to mistake them: And I had no reason to think they intended to deceive, or misinform me.

1660. I will in the next place change the climate, and give as particular an account as I can of the settlement of *England* both in Church and State: Which, tho' it will be perhaps imperfect, and will in some parts be out of order, yet I am well assured it will be found true, having picked it up at several times, from the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Sir *Robert Murray*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Earl of *Clarendon* the son of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord *Hollis*, and Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*, who was the Speaker of the House of Commons, under whose protection I lived nine years when I was preacher at the Rolls, he being then Master of the Rolls. From such hands

The affairs  
of England.

hands I could not be misled, when I laid all together, and considered what reason I had to make allowances for the different accounts that diversity of parties and interests may lead men to give, they too easily believing some things, and as easily rejecting others, as they stood affected. 1660.

AFTER the King came over, no person in the House of Commons had the courage to move the offering propositions for any limitation of prerogative, or the defining of any doubtful points. All was joy and rapture. If the King had applyed himself to business, and had pursued those designs which he studied to retrieve all the rest of his reign, when it was too late, he had probably in those first transports carried every thing that he would have desired, either as to revenue or power. But he was so given up to pleasure, that he devolved the management of all his affairs on the Earl of *Clarendon*; who, as he had his breeding in the law, so he had all along declared himself for the ancient liberties of *England*, as well as for the rights of the Crown. A domestick accident had happened to him, which heightened his zeal for the former. He when he began to grow eminent in his profession, came down to see his aged father, a gentleman of *Wiltshire*: Who, one day, as they were walking in the field together, told him, that men of his profession did often stretch law and prerogative, to the prejudice of the liberty of the subject, to recommend and advance themselves: So he charged him, if ever he grew to any eminence in his profession, that he should never sacrifice the laws and liberties of his country



1660.

to his own interests, or to the will of a Prince. He repeated this twice; and immediately fell into a fit of an apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours. This the Earl of *Clarendon* told the Lady *Ranelagh*, who put him often in mind of it; And from her I had it.

*Clarendon's*  
just and  
moderate  
notions.

HE resolved not to stretch the prerogative beyond what it was before the wars, and would neither set aside the Petition of Right, nor endeavour to raise the Courts of the Star Chamber, or the High Commission again, which could have been easily done, if he had set about it: Nor did he think fit to move for the repeal of the act for triennial Parliaments, till other matters were well settled. He took care indeed to have all the things that were extorted by the long Parliament from King *Charles I.* to be repealed. And since the dispute of the power of the Militia was the most important, and the most insisted on, he was very earnest to have that clearly determined for the future. But as to all the acts relating to property, or the just limitation of the prerogative, such as the matter of ship-money, the tonnage and poundage, and the *Habeas Corpus* act, he did not touch on these. And as for the standing revenue, 1,200,000 *l.* a year was all that was asked: And, tho' it was much more than any of our Kings had formerly, yet it was readily granted. This was to answer all the ordinary expence of the government. It was believed, that if two millions had been asked, he could have carried it. But he had no mind to put the King out of the necessity of having recourse to his Parliament. The King came afterwards to believe, that he could have

raised

1660.

raised both his authority and revenue much higher, but that he had no mind to carry it farther, or to trust him too much. Whether all these things could have been got at that time, or not, is above my conjecture. But this I know, that all the Earl of *Clarendon's* enemies after his fall said, these things had been easily obtained, if he had taken any pains in the matter, but that he himself had no mind to it: And they infused this into the King, so that he believed it, and hated him mortally on that account. And in his difficulties afterwards he said often, all those things might have been prevented, if the Earl of *Clarendon* had been true to him.

THE King had not been many days at *Whitehall*, when one *Venner*, a violent fifth-monarchy man, who thought it was not enough to believe that *Christ* was to reign on earth, and to put the Saints in possession of the Kingdom, (an opinion that they were all unspeakably fond of,) but added to this, that the Saints were to take the Kingdom themselves. He gathered some of the most furious of the party to a meeting in *Coleman street*. There they concerted the day and the manner of their rising to set *Christ* on his Throne, as they called it. But withal they meant to manage the government in his name; and were so formal, that they had prepared standards and colours with their devices on them, and furnished themselves with very good arms. But when the day came, there was but a small appearance, not exceeding twenty. However they resolved to venture out into the streets, and cry out, No King but *Christ*. Some of them seemed persuaded that

*Venner's*  
fury.

R 3

*Christ*

1660.

The old  
Troops  
disbanded,  
and new  
raised.

*Christ* would come down, and head them. They scoured the streets before them, and made a great progress, Some were afraid, and all were amazed at this piece of extravagance. They killed a great many, but were at last mastered by numbers: And were all either killed, or taken and executed. Upon this some troops of guards were raised. And there was a great talk of a design, as soon as the Army was disbanded, to raise a force that should be so chosen and modelled that the King might depend upon it; and that it should be so considerable, that there might be no reason to apprehend new tumults any more. The Earl of *Southampton* looked on a while: And, when he saw how this design seemed to be entertained and magnified, he entered into a very free expostulation with the Earl of *Clarendon* about it. He said, they had felt the effects of a military government, tho' sober and religious, in *Cromwell's* army: He believed vicious and dissolute troops would be much worse: The King would grow fond of them: And they would quickly become insolent and ungovernable: And then such men as he was must be only instruments to serve their ends. He said, he would not look on, and see the ruin of his country begun, and be silent: A white staff should not bribe him. The Earl of *Clarendon* was persuaded he was in the right, and promised he would divert the King from any other force than what might be decent to make a shew with, and what might serve to disperse unruly multitudes. The Earl of *Southampton* said, if it went no farther he could bear it; but it would not be easy to fix such a number, as would



1660.

would please our Princes, and not give jealousy. The Earl of *Clarendon* persuaded the King, that it was necessary for him to carry himself with great caution, till the old Army should be disbanded: For, if an ill humour got among them, they knew both their courage and their principles, which the present times had for a while a little suppressed: Yet upon any just jealousy there might be great cause to fear new and more violent disorders. By these means the King was so wrought on, that there was no great occasion given for jealousy. The Army was to be disbanded, but in such a manner, with so much respect, and so exact an account of arrears, and such gratuities, that it looked rather to be the dismissing them to the next opportunity and a reserving them till there should be occasion for their service, than a breaking of them. They were certainly the bravest, the best disciplined, and the soberest Army that had been known in these latter ages: Every soldier was able to do the functions of an Officer. The Court was at great quiet, when they got rid of such a burden, as lay on them from the fear of such a body of men. The guards, and the new troops that were raised, were made up of such of the Army as *Monk* recommended, and answered for. And with that his great interest at Court came to a stand. He was little considered afterwards.

IN one thing the temper of the nation appeared to be contrary to severe proceedings: For, tho' the Regicides were at that time odious beyond all expression, and the trials and executions of the first that suffered were run to by vast crouds,

The trial and execution of the Regicides.

1662.

Peters.

Harrison.

and all people seemed pleased with the sight, yet the odiousness of the crime grew at last to be so much flatten'd by the frequent executions, and most of those who suffered dying with much firmness and shew of piety, justifying all they had done, not without a seeming joy for their suffering on that account, that the King was advised not to proceed farther, at least not to have the scene so near the Court as *Charing-cross*. It was indeed remarkable that *Peters*, a sort of an enthusiastical buffoon preacher, tho' a very vitious man, who had been of great use to *Cromwell*, and had been outrageous in pressing the King's death with the cruelty and rudeness of an Inquisitor, was the man of them all that was the most sunk in his spirit, and could not in any sort bear his punishment. He had neither the honesty to repent of it, nor the strength of mind to suffer for it as all the rest of them did. He was observed all the while to be drinking some cordial liquors to keep him from fainting. *Harrison* was the first that suffered. He was a fierce and bloody enthusiast. And it was believed, that while the army was in doubt, whether it was fitter to kill the King privately, or to bring him to an open trial, that he offered, if a private way was agreed on, to be the man that should do it. So he was begun with. But, however reasonable this might be in it self, it had a very ill effect: For he was a man of great heat and resolution, fixed in his principles, and so persuaded of them, that he had never looked after any interests of his own, but had opposed *Cromwell* when he set up for himself. He went thro' all the indignities and severities of his execution,

in

(in which the letter of the law in cases of treason was punctually observed) with a calmness, or rather a chearfulness, that astonished the spectators. He spoke very positively, that what they had done was the cause and work of God, which he was confident God would own and raise up again, how much soever it suffered at that time. Upon this a report was spread, and generally believed, that he said, he himself should rise again: Tho' the party denied that, and reported the words as I have set them down. One person escaped, as was reported, merely by his vices: *Henry Martin*, who had been a most violent enemy to Monarchy. But all that he moved for, was upon *Roman* or *Greek* Principles. He never entered into matters of Religion, but on design to laugh both at them and all morality; for he was both an impious and vitious man. And now in his imprisonment he deliver'd himself up to vice and blasphemy. It was said, that this helped him to so many friends, that upon that very account he was spared. *John Goodwin* and *Milton* did also escape all censure, to the surprise of all people. *Goodwin* had so often not only justified, but magnified the putting the King to death, both in his sermons and books, that few thought he could have been either forgot or excused; for *Peters* and he were the only preachers that spoke of it in that strain. But *Goodwin* had been so zealous an Arminian, and had sown such division among all the sectaries upon those heads, that it was said this procured him friends. Upon what account soever it was, he was not censured. *Milton* had appeared so boldly, tho' with much wit and

Goodwin;



1660. great purity and elegancy of style, against *Salmasius* and others, upon that argument of the putting the King to death, and had discovered such violence against the late King and all the Royal family, and against Monarchy, that it was thought a strange omission if he was forgot, and an odd strain of clemency, if it was intended he should be forgiven. He was not excepted out of the act of indemnity. And afterwards he came out of his concealment, and lived many years much visited by all strangers, and much admired by all at home for the poems he writ, tho' he was then blind; chiefly that of *Paradise Lost*, in which there is a nobleness both of contrivance and execution, that, tho' he affected to write in blank verse without rhyme, and made many new and rough words, yet it was esteemed the beautifullest and perfectest poem that ever was writ, at least in our language.

1661.  
Vane's character.

But as the sparing these persons was much censured, so on the other hand the putting Sir *Henry Vane* to death was as much blamed: For the declaration from *Breda* being full for an indemnity to all, except the Regicides, he was comprehended in that; since, tho' he was for changing the government, and deposing the King, yet he did not approve of the putting him to death, nor of the force put on the Parliament, but did for some time, while these things were acted, withdraw from the scene. This was so represented by his friends, that an address was made by both Houses on his behalf, to which the King gave a favourable answer, tho' in general words. So he reckoned that he was safe, that

that being equivalent to an act of Parliament • 1661.  
 tho' it wanted the necessary forms. Yet the  
 great share he had in the attainder of the Earl  
*Strafford*, and in the whole turn of affairs to  
 the total change of government, but above all  
 the great opinion that was had of his parts and  
 capacity to embroil matters again, made the  
 Court think it was necessary to put him out of  
 the way. He was naturally a very fearful man:  
 This one who knew him well told me, and  
 gave me eminent instances of it. He had a head  
 as darkened in his notions of religion, as his  
 mind was clouded with fear: For tho' he set  
 up a form of religion in a way of his own, yet  
 it consisted rather in a withdrawing from all other  
 forms, than in any new or particular opinions  
 or forms; from which he and his party were  
 called Seekers, and seemed to wait for some  
 new and clearer manifestations. In these meetings  
 he preached and prayed often himself, but with  
 so peculiar a darkness, that tho' I have sometimes  
 taken pains to see if I could find out his meaning  
 in his works, yet I could never reach it. And  
 since many others have said the same, it may  
 be reasonable to believe he hid somewhat that  
 was a necessary key to the rest. His friends told  
 me, he leaned to *Origen's* notion of an universal  
 salvation of all, both of devils and the damned,  
 and to the doctrine of pre-existence. When he  
 saw his death was designed, he composed himself  
 to it, with a resolution that surprised all who  
 knew how little of that was natural to him.  
 Some instances of this were very extraordinary,  
 tho' they cannot be mentioned with decency. He  
 was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, where a new and  
 very

And execution.

1661. very indecent practice was begun. It was observed, that the dying speeches of the Regicides had left impressions on the hearers, that were not at all to the advantage of the government. So strains of a peculiar nature being expected from him, to prevent that, drummers were placed under the scaffold, who as soon as he began to speak of the publick, upon a sign given, struck up with their drums. This put him in no disorder. He desired they might be stopped, for he understood what was meant by it. Then he went thro' his devotions. And, as he was taking leave of those about him, he happening to say somewhat with relation to the times, the drums struck up a second time: So he gave over, and died with so much composedness, that it was generally thought, the government had lost more than it had gained by his death.

The King gave himself up to his pleasures.

THE act of indemnity pass'd with very few exceptions; at which the Cavaliers were highly dissatisfied, and made great complaints of it. In the disposal of Offices and places, as it was not possible to gratify all, so there was little regard had to mens merits or services. The King was determined to most of these by the cabal that met at *Mistress Palmer's* lodgings. And tho' the Earl of *Clarendon* did often prevail with the King to alter the resolutions taken there, yet he was forced to let a great deal go that he did not like. He would never make applications to *Mistress Palmer*, nor let any thing pass the seal in which she was named, as the Earl of *Southampton* would never suffer her name to be in the Treasury books. Those vertuous Ministers thought it became them, to let the world see that



that they did not comply with the King in his vices. But whether the Earl of *Clarendon* spoke so freely to the King about his course of life, as was given out, I cannot tell. When the Cavaliers saw, they had not that share in places that they expected, they complained of it so highly, that the Earl of *Clarendon*, to excuse the King's passing them by, was apt to beat down the value they set on their services. This laid the foundation of an implacable hatred in many of them, that was compleated by the extent and comprehensiveness of the act of indemnity, which cut off their hopes of being re-imburshed out of the fines, if not the confiscations of those, who had during the course of the wars been on the Parliament's side. It is true, the first Parliament, called, by way of derogation, the Convention, had been too much on that side not to secure themselves and their friends. So they took care to have the most comprehensive words put in it, that could be thought of. But when the new Parliament was called a year after, in which there was a design to set aside the act of indemnity, and to have brought in a new one, the King did so positively insist on his adhering to the act of indemnity, that the design of breaking into it was laid aside. The Earl of *Clarendon* owned it was his counsel. Acts or promises of indemnity, he thought, ought to be held sacred: A fidelity in the observation of them was the only foundation, upon which any government could hope to quiet seditions or civil wars: And if people once thought, that those promises were only made to deceive them, without an intention to observe them.

1661

The act of indemnity maintained

1661.

them religiously, they would never for the future hearken to any treaty. He often said, it was the making those promises had brought the King home, and it was the keeping them must keep him at home. So that whole work from beginning to the end was entirely his. The angry men, that were thus disappointed of all their hopes, made a jest of the title of it, *An act of oblivion and of indemnity*; and said, the King had pass'd an act of oblivion for his friends, and of indemnity for his enemies. To load the Earl of *Clarendon* the more, it was given out that he advised the King to gain his enemies, since he was sure of his friends by their principles. With this he was often charged, tho' he always denied it. Whether the King fastened it upon him after he had disgraced him, to make him the more odious, I cannot tell. It is certain, the King said many very hard things of him, for which he was much blamed: And in most of them he was but little believed.

1662.

The King's  
marriage.

IT was natural for the King upon his Restoration to look out for a proper marriage. And it was soon observed, that he was resolved not to marry a Protestant. He pretended a contempt of the *Germans*, and of the northern Crowns. *France* had no sister. He had seen the Duke of *Orleans's* daughters, and liked none of them. *Spain* had only two Infantas: And as the eldest was married to the King of *France*, the second was to go to *Vienna*. So the House of *Portugal* only remained, to furnish him a wife, among the crowned heads. *Monk* began to hearken to a motion made him for this by a

*Few,*

*Jew*, that managed the concerns of *Portugal*, 1662.  
 which were now given for lost, since they were  
 abandoned by *France* by the treaty of the *Pyrénées*;  
 in which it appears by Cardinal *Mazarin's* letters,  
 that he did entirely deliver up their concerns;  
 which was imputed to his desire to please the  
 Queen-mother of *France*, who, being a daughter  
 of *Spain*, owned herself still to be in the interests  
 of *Spain* in every thing in which *France* was  
 not concerned, for in that case she pretended  
 she was true to the Crown of *France*. And  
 this was the true secret of Cardinal *Mazarin's*  
 carrying on that war so feebly as he did, to  
 gratify the Queen-mother on the one hand, and  
 his own covetousness on the other: For the less  
 publick expence was made, he had the greater  
 occasions of enriching himself, which was all  
 he thought on. The *Portuguese* being thus, as  
 they thought, cast off by *France*, were very  
 apprehensive of falling under the *Castillians*,  
 who, how weak soever they were in opposition  
 to *France*, yet were like to be too hard for  
 them, when they had nothing else on their  
 hands. So, vast offers were made, if the  
 King would marry their Infanta, and take them  
 under his protection. *Monk* was the more  
 encouraged to entertain the proposition, because  
 some pretended, that, in the beginning of the  
 war of *Portugal*, King *Charles* had entred into  
 a negotiation for a marriage between his son  
 and this Infanta. And the veneration paid his  
 memory was then so high, that every thing he  
 had projected was esteemed sacred. *Monk*  
 promised to serve the interests of *Portugal*: And  
 that was, as Sir *Robert Southwell* told me, the  
 first



1661. first step made in that matter. Soon after the King came into *England*, an Embassy of congratulation came from thence, with orders to negotiate that business. The *Spanish* Ambassador, who had a pretension of merit from the King in behalf of that Crown, since *Spain* had received and entertained him at *Brussels*, when *France* had thrown him off, set himself much against this match: And among other things affirmed, that the Infanta was incapable of having children. But this was little considered. The *Spaniards* are not very scrupulous in affirming any thing that serves their ends: And this marriage was like to secure the Kingdom of *Portugal*. So it was no wonder that he opposed it: And little regard was had to all that he said to break it.

An alliance  
proposed  
from  
*France*

AT this time Monsieur *Fouquet* was gaining an ascendant in the Councils of *France*, Cardinal *Mazarin* falling then into a languishing, of which he died a year after. He sent one over to the King with a project of an alliance between *France* and *England*. He was addressed first to the Earl of *Clarendon*, to whom he enlarged on all the heads of the scheme he had brought, of which the match with *Portugal* was a main article. And, to make all go down the better, *Fouquet* desired to enter into a particular friendship with the Earl of *Clarendon*; sent him the offer of 10000 *l*, and assured him of the renewing the same present every year. The Lord *Clarendon* told him, he would lay all that related to the King faithfully before him & give him his answer in a little time: But for what related to himself, he said, he served a great and bountiful master, who knew well how to support and reward

his

his ser  
fully,  
those f  
fore he  
He laic  
fed all  
on. I  
King a  
himself  
Why,  
tray yo  
could c  
me bet  
ney I  
to have  
told th  
very fe  
saw he  
those  
to othe  
only to  
discove  
gave w  
grow t  
thro' th  
A S  
was ca  
nature  
*Clarena*  
near he  
to own  
Maid o  
the Du  
amorou  
comply

his servants: He would ever serve him faithfully, and, because he knew he must serve those from whom he accepted the hire, therefore he rejected the offer with great indignation. He laid before the King the heads of the proposed alliance, which required much consultation. But in the next place he told both the King and his brother what had been offered to himself. They both advised him to accept of it. Why, said he, have you a mind that I should betray you? The King answered, he knew nothing could corrupt him. Then, said he, you know me better than I do myself: For if I take the money I shall find the sweet of it, and study to have it continued to me by deserving it. He told them how he had rejected the offer; and very seriously warned the King of the danger he saw he might fall into, if he suffered any of those who served him, to be once pensioners to other Princes: Those presents were made only to bias them in their counsels, and to discover secrets by their means: And if the King gave way to it, the taking money would soon grow to a habit, and spread like an infection thro' the whole Court.

AS the motion for the match with *Portugal* was carried on, an incident of an extraordinary nature happened in the Court. The Earl of *Clarendon's* daughter, being with child, and near her time, called upon the Duke of *York* to own his marriage with her. She had been Maid of honour to the Princess Royal: And the Duke, who was even to his old age of an amorous disposition, tried to gain her to comply with his desires. She managed the

1661.

The Duke  
of York's  
marriage.

S

matter

1662. matter with so much address, that in conclusion he married her. Her father did very solemnly protest, that he knew nothing of the matter, till now that it broke out. The Duke thought to have shaken her from claiming it by great promises, and as great threatnings. But she was a woman of a great spirit. She said, she was his wife, and would have it known that she was so, let him use her afterwards as he pleased. Many discourses were set about upon this occasion. But the King ordered some Bishops and Judges to peruse the proofs she had to produce: And they reported that, according to the doctrine of the Gospel, and the law of *England*, it was a good marriage. So it was not possible to break it, but by trying how far the matter could be carried against her, for marrying a person so near the King, without his leave. The King would not break with the *Earl of Clarendon*: And so he told his brother, he must drink as he brewed, and live with her whom he had made his wife. All the *Earl of Clarendon's* enemies rejoiced at this: For they reckoned, how much soever it seemed to raise him at present, yet it would raise envy so high against him, and make the King so jealous of him, as being more in his brother's interests than in his own, that they looked on it as that which would end in his ruine. And he himself thought so, as his son told me: For, as soon as he knew of it, and when he saw his son lifted up with it, he protested to him, that he knew nothing of the matter, till it broke out; but added, that he looked on it, as that which must be all their ruine sooner or later.

UPON



UPON this I will digress a little to give an account of the Duke's character, whom I knew for some years so particularly, that I can say much upon my own knowledge. He was very brave in his youth, and so much magnified by Monsieur *Turenne*, that, till his marriage lessened him, he really clouded the King, and pass'd for the superior genius. He was naturally candid and sincere, and a firm friend, till affairs and his religion wore out all his first principles and inclinations. He had a great desire to understand affairs; and in order to that he kept a constant journal of all that pass'd, of which he shewed me a great deal. The Duke of *Buckingham* gave me once a short but severe character of the two brothers: It was the more severe, because it was true: The King (he said) could see things if he would, and the Duke would see things if he could. He had no true judgment, and was soon determined by those whom he trusted: But he was obstinate against all other advices. He was bred with high notions of the Kingly authority, and laid it down for a maxim, that all who opposed the King were rebels in their hearts. He was perpetually in one amour or other, without being very nice in his choice: Upon which the King said once, he believed his brother had his mistresses given him by his Priests for penance. He gave me this account of his changing his religion: When he escaped out of the hands of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had the charge of his education trusted to him by the Parliament, and had used him with great respect, all due care was taken, as soon as he got beyond sea, to

1662.  
The  
Duke's  
character.

1662.

form him to a strict adherence to the Church of *England*: Among other things much was said of the authority of the Church, and of the tradition from the Apostles in support of Episcopacy: So that, when he came to observe that there was more reason to submit to the Catholick Church than to one particular Church, and that other traditions might be taken on her word, as well as Episcopacy was received among us, he thought the step was not great, but that it was very reasonable to go over to the Church of *Rome*: And Doctor *Steward* having taught him to believe a real but unconceivable presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament, he thought this went more than half way to transubstantiation. He said, that a Nun's advice to him to pray every day, that if he was not in the right way, God would set him right, did make a great impression on him. But he never told me when or where he was reconciled. He suffered me to say a great deal to him on all these heads. I shewed the difference between submission and obedience in matters of order and indifferent things, and an implicate submission from the belief of infallibility. I also shewed him the difference between a speculation of a mode of *Christ's* presence, when it rested in an opinion, & an adoration founded on it: Tho' the opinion of such a presence was wrong, there was no great harm in that alone: But the adoration of an undue object was idolatry. He suffered me to talk much and often to him on these heads. But I plainly saw, it made no impression: And all that he seemed to intend by it was, to make use of me as an instrument to soften the aversion that

1662.

that people began to be possessed with to him. He was naturally eager and revengeful: And was against the taking off any that set up in an opposition to the measures of the Court, and who by that means grew popular in the House of Commons. He was for rougher methods. He continued for many years dissembling his religion, and seemed zealous for the Church of England: But it was chiefly on design to hinder all propositions that tended to unite us among our selves. He was a frugal Prince, and brought his Court into method and magnificence: For he had 100000 *l.* a year allowed him. He was made High Admiral: And he came to understand all the concerns of the sea very particularly. He had a very able Secretary about him, Sir *William Coventry*; a man of great notions and eminent vertues, the best Speaker in the House of Commons, and capable of bearing the chief ministry, as it was once thought he was very near it. The Duke found, all the great seamen had a deep tincture from their education: They both hated Popery, and loved liberty: They were men of severe tempers, and kept good discipline. But in order to the putting the fleet into more confident hands, the Duke began a method of sending Pages of honour, and other young persons of quality, to be bred to the sea. And these were put in command, as soon as they were capable of it, if not sooner. This discouraged many of the old seamen, when they saw in what a channel advancement was like to go; who upon that left the service, and went and commanded merchant-men. By this means the vertue and

S 3

discipline



1662. discipline of the navy is much lost. It is true, we have a breed of many gallant men, who do distinguish themselves in action: But it is thought, the Nation has suffered much by the vices and disorders of those Captains, who have risen by their quality, more than by merit, or service.

The Duchess's character.

The Duchess of York was a very extraordinary woman. She had great knowledge, and a lively sense of things. She soon understood what belonged to a Princess; and took state on her rather too much. She writ well, and had begun the Duke's life of which she shewed me a volume. It was all drawn from his journal: And he intended to have employed me in carrying it on. She was bred to great strictness in religion, and practised secret confession. *Morley* told me, he was her confessor. She began at twelve years old, and continued under his direction, till, upon her father's disgrace, he was put from the Court. She was generous and friendly; but was too severe an enemy.

The Duke of Gloucester's character.

The King's third brother, the Duke of Gloucester, was of a temper different from his two brothers. He was active, and loved business, was apt to have particular friendships; and had an insinuating temper, which was generally very acceptable: The King loved him much better than the Duke of York. He was uneasy, when he saw there was no post left for him, since *Monk* was General: So he spoke to the Earl of *Clarendon*, that he might be made Lord Treasurer; & tho' the Earl told him, it was a post below his dignity, he would not be put off with that: For he could not bear an idle life,

nor

nor to see his brother at the head of the Fleet, . 1662.

when he himself had neither business nor dependence. But the mirth and entertainments of that time raised his blood so high, that he took the small pox; of which he died, much lamented by all, but most particularly by the King, who was never in his whole life seen so much troubled, as he was on that occasion. Those who would not believe he had much tenderness in his nature, imputed this rather to his jealousy of the brother that survived, since he had now lost the only person that could ballance him. Not long after him the Princess Royal died likewise of the small pox; but was not much lamented. She had lived in her widowhood for some years with great reputation, kept a decent Court, and supported her brothers very liberally; and lived within bounds. But her mother, who had the art of making herself believe any thing she had a mind to, upon a conversation with the Queen Mother of *France*, fancied the King of *France* might be inclined to marry her. So she writ to her to come to *Paris*. In order to that, she made an equipage far above what she could support. So she ran herself into debt, sold all her jewels, and some estates that were in her power as her son's guardian; and was not only disappointed of that vain expectation, but fell into some misfortunes, that lessened the reputation she had formerly lived in. Upon her death it might have been expected, both in justice and gratitude, that the King would in a most particular manner have taken her son, the young Prince of *Orange*, into his protection. But he fell into

& death.

The Princess Royal dies.

1661. better hands: For his grandmother became his guardian, and took care both of his estate and his education.

The pro-  
pest of he  
Royal  
family  
much  
changed

Thus two of the branches of the Royal family were cut off soon after the Restoration. And so little do the events of things answer the first appearances, that a Royal family of three Princes and two Princesses, all young and graceful persons, that promised a numerous issue, did moulder away so fast, that now, while I am writing, all is reduced to the person of the Queen, and the Duchess of Savoy. The King had a very numerous issue, tho' none by his Queen. The Duke had by both his wives, and some irregular amours, a very numerous issue. And the present Queen has had a most fruitful marriage as to issue, tho' none of them survive. The Princess *Henriette* was so pleased with the diversion of the *French* Court, that she was glad to go thither again to be married to the King's Brother.

Schomberg  
went thro'  
England to  
Portugal.

AS the treaty with *Portugal* went on, *France* did engage in the concerns of that Crown, tho' they had by treaty promised the contrary to the *Spaniards*. To excuse their perfidy, Count *Schomberg*, a *German* by birth, and a Calvinist by his religion, was ordered to go thither, as one prevailed with by the *Portugal* Ambassador, and not as sent over by the orders of the Court of *France*. He pass'd thro' *England* to concert with the King the matters of *Portugal*, and the supply that was to be sent thither from *England*. He told me, the King had admitted him into great familiarities with him at *Paris*. He had known him first at the *Hague*: For he was the Prince



Prince of *Orange's* particular favourite; but had so great a share in the last violent actions of his life, in seizing the States, and in the attempt upon *Amsterdam*, that he left the service upon his death; and gained so great a reputation in *France*, that, after the Prince of *Conde* and *Turenne*, he was thought the best General they had. He had much free discourse with the King, tho' he found his mind was so turned to mirth and pleasure, that he seemed scarce capable of laying any thing to heart. He advised him to, set up for the head of the Protestant religion: For tho', he said to him, he knew he had not much religion, yet his interests led him to that. It would keep the Princes of *Germany* in a great dependence on him, and make him the umpire of all their affairs; and would procure him great credit with the *Huguenots* of *France*, and keep that Crown in perpetual fear of him. He advised the King to employ the military men that had served under *Cromwell*; whom he thought the best officers he had ever seen: And he was sorry to see they were dismiss'd, and that a company of wild young men were those the King relied on. But what he press'd most on the King, as the business then in agitation, was concerning the sale of *Dunkirk*. The *Spaniards* pretended it ought to be restor'd to them, since it was taken from them by *Cromwell*, when they had the King and his brothers in their armies: But that was not much regarded. The *French* pretended, that by their agreement with *Cromwell*, he was only to hold it, till they had repaid the charge of the war: Therefore they,

1662.

*Dunkirk*  
sold to the  
*French*.

S 5

offering

1662.

offering to lay that down, ought to have the place delivered to them. The King was in no sort bound by this. So the matter under debate was, whether it ought to be kept or sold. The military men, who were believed to be corrupted by *France*, said, the place was not tenable; that in time of peace it would put the King to a great charge, and in time of war it would not quit the cost of keeping it. The Earl of *Clarendon* said, he understood not those matters; but appealed to *Monk's* judgment, who did positively advise the letting it go for the sum that *France* offered. To make the business go the easier, the King promised, that he would lay up all the money in the Tower; and that it should not be touched, but upon extraordinary occasions. *Schomberg* advised, in opposition to all this, that the King should keep it; for, considering the naval power of *England*, it could not be taken. He knew, that, tho' *France* spoke big, as if they would break with *England* unless that was delivered up, yet they were far from the thoughts of it. He had considered the place well; and he was sure it could never be taken, as long as *England* was master of the sea. The holding it would keep both *France* and *Spain* in a dependence upon the King. But he was singular in that opinion. So it was sold; and all the money, that was paid for it, was immediately squandred away among the *Mist-riss's* creatures.

*Tangier* a  
part of the  
Queen's  
portion.

By this the King lost his reputation abroad. The Court was believed venal. And because the Earl of *Clarendon* was in greatest credit, the blame was cast chiefly on him; tho' his son as-  
sured

fured r  
tirely  
that tir  
ferred b  
flected  
that T  
portion  
bring v  
sequen  
emine  
dition  
been c  
ing a  
than it  
the C  
was fa  
comm  
would  
alway  
East I  
said o  
reign,  
happy  
never  
get gr  
Moors  
that w  
intere  
ney,  
times  
fast a  
have  
there  
ny ne  
charg

1662.

fured me, he kept himself out of that affair entirely. The cost bestowed on that place since that time, and the great prejudice we have suffered by it, has made that sale to be often reflected on very severely. But it was pretended, that *Tangier*, which was offered as a part of the portion that the Infanta of *Portugal* was to bring with her, was a place of much greater consequence. Its situation in the map is indeed very eminent. And if *Spain* had been then in a condition to put any restraint on our trade, it had been of great use to us; especially, if the making a mole there had been more practicable, than it proved to be. It was then spoken of in the Court in the highest strains of flattery. It was said, this would not only give us the entire command of the *Mediterranean* trade, but it would be a place of safety for a squadron to be always kept there, for securing our *West* and *East India* trade. And such mighty things were said of it, as if it had been reserved for the King's reign, to make it as glorious abroad, as it was happy at home: Tho' since that time we have never been able, neither by force nor treaty, to get ground enough round the town from the *Moors* to maintain the garrison. But every man that was employed there studied only his own interest, and how to rob the King. If the money, that was laid out in the mole at different times, had been raised all in a succession, as fast as the work could be carried on, it might have been made a very valuable place. But there were so many discontinuings, and so many new undertakings, that after an immense charge the Court grew weary of it: And in the  
 year



1662. year 1683 they sent a Squadron of ships to bring away the garrison, and to destroy all the works. To end this matter of the King's marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal* all at once: It was at last concluded. The Earl of *Sandwich* went for her, and was the King's proxy in the nuptial ceremony. The King communicated the matter both to the Parliament of *England*, and *Scotland*. And so strangely were people changed, that tho' they all had seen the mischievous effects of a Popish Queen in the former reign, yet not one person moved against it in either Parliament, except the Earl of *Cassilis* in *Scotland*; who moved for an address to the King to marry a Protestant. He had but one to second him: So entirely were men run from one extrem to another.

The manner of the King's marriage.

When the Queen was brought over, the King met her at *Winchester* in summer 1662. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* came to perform the ceremony: But the Queen was bigotted to such a degree, that she would not say the words of matrimony, nor bear the sight of the Archbishop. The King said the words hastily: And the Archbishop pronounced them married persons. Upon this some thought afterwards to have dissolved the marriage, as a marriage only *de facto*, in which no consent had been given. But the Duke of *York* told me, they were married by the Lord *Aubigny* according to the *Roman* ritual, and that he himself was one of the witnesses: And he added, that, a few days before he told me this, the Queen had said to him, that she heard some intended to call her marriage

in

in question; and that, 'if that was done, she must call on him as one of her witnesses to prove it. I saw the letter that the King writ to the Earl of *Clarendon* the day after their marriage, by which it appeared very plainly that the marriage was consummated, and that the King was well pleased with her. The King himself told me, she had been with child: And *Willis* the great Physician told Doctor *Lloyd*, from whom I had it, that she had once miscarried of a child, which was so far advanced, that, if it had been carefully look'd to, the sex might have been distinguished. But she proved a barren wife, and was a woman of a mean appearance, and of no agreeable temper: So that the King never considered her much; and she made ever after but a very mean figure. For some time the King carried things decently, and did not visit his mistress openly. But he grew weary of that restraint; and shook it off so entirely, that he had ever after that mistresses to the end of his life, to the great scandal of the world, and to the particular reproach of all that served about him in the Church. He usually came from his mistresses lodgings to Church, even on Sacrament days. He held as it were a Court in them: And all his Ministers made applications to them. Only the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Southampton* would never so much as make a visit to any of them; which was maintaining the decencies of vertue in a very solemn manner. The Lord *Clarendon* put the justice of the Nation in very good hands; and employed some who had been on the bench in

The King lived in an avowed course of lewdness.

286 The HISTORY of the Reign

in *Cromwell's* time, the famous Sir *Matthew Hale* in particular.

1660.

The settle-  
ment of  
*Ireland*.

The business of *Ireland* was a harder province. The *Irish* that had been in the rebellion had made a treaty with the Duke of *Ormond*, then acting in the King's name, tho' he had no legal power under the Great Seal, the King being then a prisoner. But the Queen-mother got, as they give out, the Crown of *France* to become the guarantee for the performance. By the treaty they were to furnish him with an army, to adhere to the King's interests, & serve under the Duke of *Ormond*; And for this they were to be pardoned all that was pass'd, to have the open exercise of their religion, and a free admittance into all employments, and to have a free Parliament without the curb of *Poyning's* law. But after the misfortune at *Dublin*, they set up a supream Council again, and refused to obey the Duke of *Ormond*; in which the Pope's Nuncio conducted them. After some disputes, and that the Duke of *Ormond* saw he could not prevail with them to be commanded by him any more, he left *Ireland*. And *Cromwell* came over, and reduced the whole countrey, and made a settlement of the confiscated estates, for the pay of the undertakers for the *Irish* War, and of the Officers that had served in it. The King had in his Declaration from *Breda* promised to confirm the settlement of *Ireland*. So now a great debate arose between the native *Irish* and the *English* settled in *Ireland*. The former claimed the articles that the Duke of *Ormond* had granted them. He in answer to this said, they had



1660.

had broken first on their part, and so had forfeited their claim to them. They seemed to rely much on the Court of *France*, and on the whole Popish party abroad, of which they were the most considerable branch at home. But *England* did naturally incline to support the *English* interests. And, as that interest in *Ireland* had gone in very unanimously to the design of the King's Restoration, and had merited much on that account, so they drew over the Duke of *Ormond* to join with them, in order to an act confirming *Cromwell's* settlement. Only a Court of claims was set up, to examine the pretensions of some of the *Irish*, who had special excuses for themselves, why they should not be included in the general forfeiture of the Nation. Some were under age: Others were travelling, or serving abroad: And many had distinguish'd themselves in the King's service, when he was in *Flanders*; chiefly under the Duke of *York*, who pleaded much for them, and was always depended on by them, as their chief patron. It was thought most equitable, to send over men from *England*, who were not concerned in the interests or passions of the parties of that Kingdom, to try those claims. Their proceedings were much cried out on: For it was said, that every man's claim, who could support it with a good present, was found good, and that all the members of that Court came back very rich. So that, tho' the *Irish* thought they had not justice enough done them, the *English* said they had too much. When any thing was to be proved by witnesses, sets of them were hired, to depose according to the instructions given them.

1660.

them. This was then cried out on, as a new scene of wickedness; that was then opened, and which must in the end subvert all justice and good government. The infection has spread since that time, and crossed the sea. And the danger of being ruined by false witnesses has become so terrible, that there is no security against it, but from the sincerity of Juries. And if these come to be packt, then all men may be soon at mercy, if a wicked government should set on a violent prosecution, as has happened oftner than once. I am not instructed enough in the affairs of *Ireland*, to carry this matter into more particulars. The *English* interest was managed chiefly by two men of a very indifferent reputation, the Earls of *Anglesey*, and *Orrery*. The chief manager of the *Irish* interest was *Richard Talbot*, one of the Duke's bedchamber men, who had much cunning, and had the secret both of his master's pleasures, and of his religion, for some years, and was afterwards raised by him to be Earl and Duke of *Tirconnel*. Thus I have gone over the several branches of the settlement of matters after the Restoration, I have reserved the affairs of the Church last, as those about which I have taken the most pains to be well informed; and which I do therefore offer to the reader with some assurance, and on which I hope due reflection will be made.

The  
Bishops  
who had  
then the  
greatest  
credit.

AT the Restoration, *Juxon*, the ancientest and most eminent of the former Bishops, who had assisted the late King in his last hours, was promoted to *Canterbury*, more out of decency, than that he was then capable to fill that

that post; for as he was never a great divine, so he was now superannuated. Tho' others have assured me, that after some discourses with the King he was so much struck with what he observed in him, that upon that he lost both heart and hope. The King treated him with outward respect, but had no great regard to him. *Sheldon* and *Morley* were the men that had the greatest credit. *Sheldon* was esteemed a learned man before the wars: But he was now engaged so deep in politicks, that scarce any prints of what he had been remained. He was a very dextrous man in business, had a great quickness of apprehension, and a very true judgment. He was a generous and charitable man. He had a great pleasantness of conversation, perhaps too great. He had an art, that was peculiar to him, of treating all that came to him in a most obliging manner: But few depended much on his professions of friendship. He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all: And spoke of it most commonly as of an engine of government, and a matter of policy. By this means the King came to look on him as a wise and honest Clergy man. *Sheldon* was at first made Bishop of *London*, and was upon *Juxon's* death promoted to *Canterbury*. *Morley* had been first known to the world as a friend of the Lord *Falkland's*: And that was enough to raise a man's character. He had continued for many years in the Lord *Clarendon's* family, and was his particular friend. He was a Calvinist with relation to the Arminian points, and was thought a friend to the Puritans before the wars: But

1660.

*Sheldon..*

*Morley.*

T he



1660.

he took care after his promotion to free himself from all suspicions of that kind. He was a pious and charitable man, of a very exemplary life, but extream passionate, and very obstinate. He was first made Bishop of *Worcester*. Doctor

*Hammond*

*Hammond*, for whom that See was designed, died a little before the Restoration, which was an unspeakable loss to the Church: For, as he was a man of great learning, and of most eminent merit, he having been the person that during the bad times had maintained the cause of the Church in a very singular manner; so he was a very moderate man in his temper, tho' with a high principle; and probably he would have fallen into healing counsels. He was also much set on reforming abuses, and for raising in the Clergy a due sense of the obligations they lay under. But by his death *Morley* was advanced to *Worcester*: And not long after he was removed to *Winchester*, void by *Duppa's* death, who had been the King's Tutor, tho' no way fit for that post; but he was a meek and humble man, and much loved for the sweetness of his temper; and would have been more esteemed, if he had died before the Restoration; for he made not that use of the great wealth that flowed in upon him that was expected. *Morley* was thought always the honestest man of the two, as *Sheldon* was certainly the abler man.

*Duppa*

Debates  
concerning  
the uniting  
with the  
Presbyterians.

THE first point in debate was, whether concessions should be made, and pains taken to gain the Dissenters, or not; especially the Presbyterians. The Earl of *Clarendon* was much for it; and got the King to publish a de-

1660.

declaration soon after his Restoration concerning Ecclesiastical affairs, to which if he had stood, very probably the greatest part of them might have been gained. But the Bishops did not approve of this: And after the service they did that Lord in the Duke of York's marriage, he would not put any hardship on those who had so signally obliged him. This disgusted the Lord *Southampton*, who was for carrying on the design that had been much talked of during the wars, of moderating matters both with relation to the government of the Church, and the worship and ceremonies: Which created some coldness between him and the Earl of *Clarendon*, when the Lord Chancellor went off from those designs. The consideration that those Bishops and their party had in the matter was this: The Presbyterians were possessed of most of the great benefices in the Church, chiefly in the City of *London*, and in the two Universities. It is true, all that had come into the room of those who were turned out by the Parliament, or the visitors sent by them, were removed by the course of law, as men that were illegally possessed of other mens rights: And that even where the former incumbents were dead, because a title originally wrong was still wrong in law. But there were a great many of them in very eminent posts, who were legally possessed of them. Many of these, chiefly in the city of *London*, had gone into the design of the Restoration in so signal a manner, and with such success, that they had great merit, and a just title to very high preferment. Now, as there remained a great deal of the old animosity

1660.

against them for what they had done during the wars, so it was said, it was better to have a schism out of the Church than within it; and that the half-conformity of the Puritans before the war had set up a faction in every city and town between the lecturers and the incumbents, that the former took all methods to render themselves popular, and to raise the benevolence of their people, which was their chief subsistence, by disparaging the government both in Church and State. They had also many stories among them, of the credit they had in the elections of Parliament men: which they infused in the King, to possess him with the necessity of having none to serve in the Church, but persons that should be firmly tied to his interest, both by principle, and by subscriptions and oaths. It is true, the joy then spread thro' the Nation had got at this time a new Parliament to be elected of men so high and so hot, that, unless the Court had restrained them, they would have carried things much farther than they did, against all that had been concerned in the late wars: But they were not to expect such success at all times: Therefore they thought it was necessary to make sure work at this time: And, instead of using methods to bring in the sectaries, they resolved rather to seek the most effectual ones for casting them out, and bringing a new set of men into the Church. This took with the King, at least it seemed to do so. But, tho' he put on an outward appearance of moderation, yet he was in another and deeper laid design, to which the heat of these men proved subservient, for bringing in of Popery.

A



A Popish Queen was a great step to keep it in countenance at Court, and to have a great many Priests going about the Court making converts. It was thought, a toleration was the only method for setting it a going all the Nation over. And nothing could make a toleration for Popery pass, but the having great bodies of men put out of the Church, and put under severe laws, which should force them to move for a toleration, and should make it reasonable to grant it to them. And it was resolved, that whatever should be granted of that sort should go in so large a manner, that Papists should be comprehended within it. So the Papists had this generally spread among them, that they should oppose all propositions for comprehension, and should animate the Church party to maintain their ground against all the sectaries. And in that point they seemed zealous for the Church. But at the same time they spoke of toleration, as necessary both for the peace and quiet of the Nation, and for the encouragement of trade. And with this the Duke was so possessed, that he declared himself a most violent enemy to comprehension, and as zealous for toleration. The King being thus resolved on fixing the terms of conformity to what they had been before the war, without making the least abatement or alteration, they carried on still an appearance of moderation, till the strength of the parties should appear in the new Parliament.

SO, after the declaration was set out, a commission was granted to twelve of a side, with nine assistants to each side, who were appointed

A treaty in the Savoy.

1660.

appointed to meet at the *Savoy*, and to consider on the ways of uniting both sides. At their first meeting, *Sheldon* told them, that those of the Church had not desired this meeting, as being satisfied with the legal establishment; and therefore they had nothing to offer; but it belonged to the other side, who moved for alterations, to offer both their exceptions to the laws in being, and the alterations that they proposed. He told them, they were to lay all they had to offer before them at once; for they would not engage to treat about any one particular, till they saw how far their demands went. And he said, that all was to be transacted in writing, tho' the others insisted on an amicable conference; which was at first denied: Yet some hopes were given of allowing it at last. Papers were upon this given in. The Presbyterians moved, that Bishop *Usher's* Reduction should be laid down as a ground-work to treat on; that Bishops should not govern their Diocese by their single authority, nor depute it to Lay officers in their Courts, but should in matters of ordination and jurisdiction take along with them the counsel and concurrence of the Presbyters. They did offer several exceptions to the Liturgy, against the many responses by the people; and they desired, all might be made one continued prayer. They desired that no lessons should be taken out of the Apocryphal books; that the Psalms used in the daily service should be according to the new translation. They excepted to many parts of the Office of baptism, that import the inward regeneration of all that were baptized. But as they proposed

these

these amendments, so they did also offer a Liturgy new drawn by Mr. *Baxter*. They insisted mainly against kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, chiefly against the imposing it; and moved that the posture might be left free, and that the use of the surplice, of the cross in baptism, of God-fathers being the sponsors in baptism, and of the holy days, might be abolished. *Sheldon* saw well what the effect would be of putting them to make all their demands at once. The number of them raised a mighty outcry against them, as people that could never be satisfied. But nothing gave so great an advantage against them, as their offering a new Liturgy. In this they were divided among themselves. Some were for insisting only on a few important things, reckoning that, if they were gained, and a union followed upon that, it would be easier to gain other things afterwards. But all this was overthrown by Mr. *Baxter*, who was a man of great piety; and, if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been esteemed one of the learned men of the age. He writ near two hundred books; Of these, three are large folios: He had a very moving and pathetical way of writing, and was his whole life long a man of great zeal and much simplicity; but was most unhappily subtle and metaphysical in every thing. There was a great submission paid to him by the whole party. So he persuaded them, that from the words of the commission they were bound to offer every thing that they thought might conduce to the good or peace of the Church, without considering what was

*Baxters*  
Character.



1660. like to be obtained, or what effect their demanding so much might have, in irritating the minds of those who were then the superiour body in strength and number. All the whole matter was at last reduced to one single point, whether it was lawful to determine the certain use of things indifferent in the worship of God? The Bishops held them to that point, and pressed them to shew that any of the things imposed were of themselves unlawful. The Presbyterians declined this; but affirmed, that other circumstances might make it become unlawful to settle a peremptory law about things indifferent; which they applied chiefly to kneeling in the Sacrament, and stood upon it that a law, which excluded all that did not kneel from the Sacrament, was unlawful, as a limitation in the point of communion put on the laws of *Christ*, which ought to be the only condition of those who had a right to it. Upon this point there was a free conference that lasted some days. The two men, that had the chief management of the debate, were the most unfit to heal matters, and the fittest to widen them, that could have been found out. *Baxter* was the opponent, and *Gunning* was the respondent; who was afterwards advanced, first to *Chichester*, and then to *Ely*. He was a man of great reading, and noted for a special subtilty of arguing: All the arts of sophistry were made use of by him on all occasions, in as confident a manner, as if they had been sound reasoning: He was a man of an innocent life, unweariedly active to very little purpose. He was much set on the reconciling us with Popery in some points:

*Gunning's*  
Character.

And

1660.

And, because the charge of idolatry seemed a bar to all thoughts of reconciliation with them, he set himself with very great zeal to clear the Church of *Rome* of idolatry. This made many suspect him as inclining to go over to them : But he was far from it ; and was a very honest, sincere man, but of no sound judgment, and of no prudence in affairs. He was for our conforming in all things to the rules of the Primitive Church, particularly in praying for the dead, in the use of oil, with many other rituals. He formed many in *Cambridge* upon his own notions, who have carried them perhaps farther than he intended. *Baxter* and he spent some days in much logical arguing, to the diversion of the town, who thought here were a couple of fencers engaged in disputes, that could never be brought to an end, nor have any good effect. In conclusion, this commission, being limited to such a number of days, came to an end, before any one thing was agreed on. The Bishops insisted on the laws that were still in force, to which they would admit of no exception, unless it was proved that the matter of those laws was sinful. They charged the Presbyterians with having made a schism, upon a charge against the Church for things, which now they themselves could not call sinful. They said, there was no reason to gratify such a sort of men in any thing : One demand granted would draw on many more : All authority both in Church and State was struck at by the position they had insisted on, that it was not lawful to impose things indifferent, since they seemed to be the only proper matter in which human

T 5

authority

## 298 The HISTORY of the Reign

1660. authority could interpose. So this furnished an occasion to expose them as enemies to all order. Things had been carried at the *Survey* with great sharpness, and many reflections. *Baxter* said once, such things would offend many good men in the Nation. *Stearn*, the Archbishop of *York*, upon that took notice that he would not say Kingdom, but Nation, because he would not acknowledge a King. Of this great complaints were made, as an indecent return for the zeal they had shewn in the Restoration.

1661. THE conference broke up without doing any good: It did rather hurt, and heightened the sharpness that was then on peoples minds to such a degree, that it needed no addition to raise it higher. The Presbyterians laid their complaints before the King: But little regard was had to them. And now all the concern that seemed to employ the Bishops thoughts was, not only to make no alteration on their account, but to make the terms of conformity much stricter than they had been before the war. So it was resolved to maintain conformity to the height, and to put lecturers in the same condition with the incumbents, as to oaths and subscriptions; and to oblige all persons to subscribe an unfeigned assent and consent to all and every particular contained and prescribed in the book of Common Prayer. Many, who thought it lawful to conform in submission, yet scrupled at this, as importing a particular approbation of every thing: And great distinction was made between a conformity in practice, and so full and distinct an assent. Yet men  
got

The terms  
of conform-  
ity made  
harder.

got  
con  
the f  
prom  
the p  
to in  
enjoy  
for i  
Con  
book  
relati  
they  
any  
the K  
of tal  
or the  
a dec  
or an  
nant  
gover  
Cover  
was  
had b  
had p  
to ow  
And  
upon  
invasi  
except  
safe fo  
point.  
taken  
stand t  
AN  
of U



got over that, as importing no more but a consent of obedience: For tho' the words of the subscription, which were also to be publickly pronounced before the congregation, declaring the person's unfeigned assent and consent, seemed to import this, yet the clause of the act that enjoined this carried a clear explanation of it; for it enacted this declaration as an assent and Consent to the use of all things contained in the book. Another subscription was enacted, with relation to the League and Covenant; by which they were required to declare it unlawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King, renouncing the traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or those commissioned by him, together with a declaration, that no obligation lay on them or any other person from the League or Covenant to endeavour any change or alteration of government in Church and State, and that the Covenant was in it self an unlawful oath. This was contriv'd against all the old men, who had both taken the Covenant themselves, and had press'd it upon others. So they were now to own themselves very guilty in that matter. And those, who thought it might be lawful upon great and illegal provocation to resist unjust invasions on the laws and liberties of the subjects, excepted to the subscription, tho' it was scarce safe for any at that time to have insisted on that point. Some thought, that since the King had taken the Covenant, he at least was bound to stand to it.

ANOTHER point was fixed by the Act of Uniformity, which was more at large formerly:

The Act of Uniformity:

1661.

formerly: Those, who came to *England* from the foreign Churches, had not been required to be ordained among us: But now all, that had not Episcopal ordination, were made incapable of holding any Ecclesiastical Benefice. Some few alterations were made in the Liturgy by the Bishops themselves: A few new collects were made, as the prayer for all conditions of men, and the general thanksgiving. A collect was also drawn for the Parliament, in which a new epithet was added to the King's title, that gave great offence, and occasioned much indecent raillery: He was styled our most religious King. It was not easy to give a proper sense to this, and to make it go well down; since, whatever the signification of religion might be in the *Latin* word, as importing the sacredness of the King's person, yet in the *English* language it bore a signification that was no way applicable to the King. And those who took great liberties with him have often asked him, what must all his people think, when they heard him prayed for as their most religious King? Some other lesser additions were made. But care was taken, that nothing should be altered, so as it had been moved by the Presbyterians; for it was resolved to gratify them in nothing. One important addition was made, chiefly by *Gawden's* means: He pressed that a declaration, explaining the reasons of their kneeling at the Sacrament, which had been in King *Edward's* Liturgy, but was left out in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, should be again set where it had once been. The Papists were highly

highly  
declar  
the D  
how t  
which  
of the  
about  
For t  
the se  
prepar  
new h  
sion o  
out of  
of Bel  
drawn  
nuary  
twent  
birth a  
offices  
more  
But h  
Canter  
the K  
style a  
Natio  
return  
that e  
rected  
prepar  
to the  
Comr  
was pr  
Justice  
W

highly offended, when they saw such an express declaration made against the real presence; and the Duke told me, that when he asked *Sheldon* how they came to declare against a doctrine, which he had been instructed was the doctrine of the Church, *Sheldon* answered, ask *Gawden* about it, who is a Bishop of your own making: For the King had ordered his promotion for the service he had done. The Convocation that prepared those alterations, as they added some new holy days, *St. Barnabas*, and the Conversion of *St. Paul*, so they took in more lessons out of the Apocrypha, in particular the story of *Bel* and the *Dragon*. New offices were also drawn for two new days, the thirtieth of *January*, called *King Charles the Martyr*, and the twenty ninth of *May*, the day of the King's birth and return. *Sancroft* drew for these some offices of a very high strain. Yet others of a more moderate strain were preferred to them. But he, coming to be advanced to the See of *Canterbury*, got his offices to be published by the King's authority, in a time when so high a style as was in them did not sound well in the Nation. Such care was taken in the choice & returns of the members of the Convocation, that every thing went among them as was directed by *Sheldon* and *Morley*. When they had prepared all their alterations, they offered them to the King, who sent them to the House of Commons, upon which the Act of Uniformity was prepared by *Keeling*, afterwards Lord Chief Justice.

WHEN it was brought into the House,  
many



1662.

many did apprehend that so severe an act might have ill effects, and began to abate of their first heat: Upon which reports were spread, and much aggravated as they were reported to the House of Commons, of the Plots of the Presbyterians in several Counties. Many were taken up on those reports: But none were ever tried for them. So, the thing being let fall, it has been given out since, that these were forged by the direction of some hot spirits, who might think such arts were necessary to give an alarm, and by rendring the party odious, to carry so severe an act against them. The Lord *Clarendon* himself was charged as having directed this piece of artifice: But I could never see any ground for fastening it on him: Tho' there were great appearances of foul dealing among some of the fiercer sort. The Act pass'd by no great majority: And by it all who did not conform to the Liturgy by the twenty fourth of *August*, *St. Bartholomew's* day, in the year 1662, were deprived of all Ecclesiastical benefices, without leaving any discretionary power with the King in the execution of it, and without making provision for the maintenance of those who should be so deprived: A severity neither practised by Queen *Elizabeth* in the enacting her Liturgy, nor by *Cromwell* in ejecting the Royalists, in both which a fifth part of the benefice was reserved for their subsistence. *St. Bartholomew's* day was pitched on, that, if they were then deprived, they should loose the profits of the whole year, since the tithes are commonly due at *Michaelmas*. The Presbyterians remembered

what

what a St. *Bartholomew's* had been held at *Paris* ninety years before, which was the day of that massacre, and did not stick to compare the one to the other. The Book of Common-prayer with the new corrections was that to which they were to subscribe. But the corrections were so long a preparing, and the vast number of copies, being many thousands, that were to be wrought off for all the parish Churches of *England*, made the impression go on so slowly, that there were few Books set out to sale when the day came. So, many that were well affected to the Church, but that made conscience of subscribing to a book that they had not seen, left their benefices on that very account. Some made a journey to *London* on purpose to see it. With so much precipitation was that matter driven on, that it seemed expected, that the Clergy should subscribe implicitly to a book they had never seen. This was done by too many, as I was informed by some of the Bishops. But the Presbyterians were now in great difficulties. They had many meetings, and much disputing about conformity. *Reynolds* accepted of the Bishoprick of *Norwich*. But *Calamy* and *Baxter* refused the Sees of *Litchfield* and *Hereford*. And about two thousand of them fell under the Parliamentary deprivation, as they gave out. The numbers have been much controverted. This raised a grievous outcry over the Nation: tho' it was less considered at that time, than it would have been at any other. *Baxter* told me, that had the terms of the King's Declaration been stood to, he did not believe that

1662. that above three hundred of these would have been so deprived. Some few, and but few, of the Episcopal party were troubled at this severity, or apprehensive of the very ill effects it was like to have. Here were many men, much valued, some on better grounds, and others on worse, who were now cast out ignominiously, reduced to great poverty, provoked by much spiteful usage, and cast upon those popular practices that both their principles and their circumstances seemed to justify, of forming separate congregations, and of diverting men from the publick worship, and from considering their successors as the lawful pastors of those Churches in which they had served. The blame of all this fell heaviest on *Sheldon*. The Earl of *Clarendon* was charged with his having entertained the Presbyterians with hopes and good words, while he was all the while carrying on, or at least giving way to the Bishop's project. When the Convocation had gone thro' the book of Common-prayer; it was in the next place proposed, that, according to a clause in the King's licence, they should consider the Canons of the Church. They had it then in their power to have reformed many abuses, and particularly to have provided an effectual remedy to the root of all those, which arise from the poor maintenance that is reserved to the incumbents. Almost all the leases of the Church estates over *England* were fallen in, there having been no renewal for twenty years. The leases for years were determined: And the wars had carried off so many men, that most of the leases for lives were fallen into the incumbents



1661.

incumbents hands: So that the Church estates were in them: & the fines raised by renewing the leases rose to about a million and a half. It was an unreasonable thing to let those who were now promoted carry off so great a treasure. If the half had been applied to the buying of tithes or glebes for small Vicarages, here a foundation had been laid down for a great and effectual reformation. In some Sees forty or fifty thousand pound was raised, and applied to the enriching the Bishops families. Something was done to Churches and Colleges, in particular to St. Paul's in London: And a noble collection was made for redeeming all the *English* slaves that were in any part of *Barbary*. But this fell far short of what might have been expected. In this the Lord *Clarendon* was heavily charged, as having shown that he was more the Bishop's friend than the Church's. It is true, the law made those fines belong to the incumbents. But such an extraordinary occasion deserved, that a law should have been made on purpose. What the Bishops did with those great fines was a pattern to all the lower Dignitaries, who generally took more care of themselves than of the Church. The men of merit and service were loaded with many livings and many dignities. With this great accession of wealth there broke in upon the Church a great deal of luxury and high living, on the pretence of hospitality; while others made purchases, and left great estates, most of which we have seen melt away. And with this overset of wealth and pomp, that came on men in the decline of their parts and age, they who were now

The great  
fines then  
raised  
on the  
Church  
estates ill  
applied.

V

growing

1661. growing into old age, became lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the Church: They left preaching and writing to others, while they gave themselves up to ease and sloth. In all which sad representation some few exceptions are to be made; but so few, that, if a new set of men had not appeared of another stamp, the Church had quite lost her esteem over the Nation.

Divines  
called Lati-  
tudinari-  
ans.

*Whitchcot.*

THESE were generally of *Cambridge*, formed under some Divines, the chief of whom were Drs. *Whitchcot*, *Cudworth*, *Wilkins*, *More* and *Worthington*. *Whitchcot* was a man of a rare temper, very mild and obliging. He had great credit with some that had been eminent in the late times; but made all the use he could of it to protect good men of all persuasions. He was much for liberty of conscience: And being disgusted with the dry systematical way of those times, he studied to raise those who conversed with him to a nobler set of thoughts, and to consider religion as a seed of a *deiform* nature, (to use one of his own phrases.) In order to this, he set young students much on reading the ancient Philosophers, chiefly *Plato*, *Tully*, and *Plotin*, and on considering the Christian religion as a doctrine sent from God, both to elevate and sweeten humane nature, in which he was a great example, as well as a wise and kind instructor. *Cudworth* carried this on with a great strength of genius, and a vast compass of learning. He was a man of great conduct and prudence: Upon which his enemies did very falsely accuse him of craft and dissimulation. *Wilkins* was of *Oxford*, but removed to *Cambridge*.

*Cudworth.*

*bridge.* His first rise was in the Elector Palatine's family, when he was in *England*. Afterwards he married *Cromwell's* sister; but made no other use of that alliance, but to do good offices, and to cover the University from the sourness of *Owen* and *Goodwin*. At *Cambridge* he joined with those who studied to propagate better thoughts, to take men off from being in parties, or from narrow notions, from superstitious conceits, and a fierceness about opinions. He was also a great observer and a promoter of experimental philosophy, which was then a new thing, and much looked after. He was naturally ambitious, but was the wisest Clergy-man I ever knew. He was a lover of mankind, and had a delight in doing good. *More* was an open hearted, and sincere christian philosopher, who studied to establish men in the great principles of religion against atheism, that was then beginning to gain ground, chiefly by reason of the hypocrisy of some, and the fantastical conceits of the more sincere enthusiasts.

*HOBBS*, who had long followed the Court, and passed there for a mathematical man, tho' he really knew little that way, being disgusted by the Court, came into *England* in *Cromwell's* time, and published a very wicked book, with a very strange title, *The Leviathan*. His main principles were, that all men acted under an absolute necessity, in which he seemed protected by the then received doctrine of absolute decrees. He seemed to think that the Universe was God, and that souls were material; thought being only subtil & unperceptible motion. He thought interest and fear were the chief principles of

1661.

*Wilkins.*

*More.*

*Of Hobbes  
& of his  
Leviathan.*



1662

society: And he put all morality in the following that which was our own private will or advantage. He thought religion had no other foundation than the laws of the land. And he put all the law in the will of the Prince, or of the People: For he writ his book at first in favour of absolute monarchy, but turned it afterward to gratify the republican party. These were his true principles, tho' he had disguised them, for deceiving unwary readers. And this set of notions came to spread much. The novelty and boldness of them set many on reading them. The impiety of them was acceptable to men of corrupt minds, which were but too much prepared to receive them by the extravagancies of the late times. So this set of men at *Cambridge* studied to assert, and examine the principles of religion and morality on clear grounds, and in a philosophical method. In this *More* led the way to many that came after him. *Worthington* was a man of eminent piety and great humility, and practised a most sublime way of self-denial and devotion. All these, and those who were formed under them, studied to examine farther into the nature of things than had been done formerly. They declared against superstition on the one hand, and enthusiasm on the other. They loved the constitution of the Church, and the Liturgy, and could well live under them: But they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wished that things might have been carried with more moderation. And they continued to keep a good correspondence with those who had differed from them in opinion, and allowed a great freedom

freedom both in philosophy and in divinity ;  
From whence they were called men of Latitude.  
And upon this men of narrower thoughts and  
fiercer tempers fastened upon them the name  
of Latitudinarians. They read *Episcopius* much.  
And the making out the reasons of things being  
a main part of their studies, their enemies called  
them Socinians. They were all very zealous  
against Popery. And so, they becoming soon  
very considerable, the Papists set themselves  
against them to decry them as Atheists, Deists,  
or at best Socinians. And now that the main  
principle of religion was struck at by *Hobbs* and  
his followers, the Papists acted upon this a  
very strange part. They went in so far even  
into the argument for Atheism, as to publish  
many books, in which they affirmed, that there  
was no certain proofs of the Christian religion,  
unless we took it from the authority of the  
Church as infallible. This was such a delivering  
up of the cause to them, that it raised in all  
good men a very high indignation at Popery ;  
that party shewing, that they chose to make  
men, who would not turn Papists, become  
Atheists, rather than believe Christianity upon  
any other ground than infallibility.

THE most eminent of those, who were  
formed under those great men I have mention'd,  
were *Tillotson*, *Stillingsfleet*, and *Patrick*. The  
first of these was a man of a clear head, and  
a sweet temper. He had the brightest thoughts,  
and the most correct style of all our Divines ;  
and was esteemed the best preacher of the age.  
He was a very prudent man ; and had such a  
management with it, that I never knew any

A character  
of some  
Divines.

*Tillotson*.

1661. Clergy-man so universally esteemed & beloved, as he was for above twenty years. He was eminent for his opposition to Popery. He was no friend to persecution, and stood up much against Atheism. Nor did any man contribute more to bring the City to love our worship, than he did. But there was so little superstition, and so much reason and gentleness in his way of explaining things, that malice was long levelled at him, and in conclusion broke out fiercely on him. *Stillington* was a man of much more learning, but of a more reserved, and a haughtier temper. He in his youth writ an *Irenicum* for healing our divisions, with so much learning and moderation, that it was esteemed a master-piece. His notion was, that the Apostles had settled the Church in a constitution of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, but had made no perpetual law about it, having only taken it in, as they did many other things, from the customs and practice of the Synagogue; from which he inferred, that certainly the constitution was lawful since authorised by them, but not necessary, since they had made no settled law about it. This took with many; but was cried out upon by others as an attempt against the Church. Yet the argument was managed with so much learning and skill, that none of either side ever undertook to answer it. After that, he wrote against infidelity, beyond any that had gone before him. And then he engaged to write against Popery, which he did with such an exactness and liveliness, that no books of controversy were so much read and valued, as his were. He was a great man

*Stillington*

in



in many respects. He knew the world well, and was esteemed a very wise man. The writing of his *Irenicum* was a great snare to him: For, to avoid the imputations which that brought upon him, he not only retracted the book, but he went into the humours of that high sort of people beyond what became him, perhaps beyond his own sense of things. He applied himself much to the study of the law and records, and the original of our constitution, and was a very extraordinary man. *Patrick* *Patrick,* was a great preacher. He wrote much, and well, and chiefly on the Scriptures. He was a laborious man in his function, of great strictness of life, but a little too severe against those who differed from him. But that was, when he thought their doctrines struck at the fundamentals of religion. He became afterwards more moderate. To these I shall add another Divine, who, tho' of *Oxford*, yet as he was formed by Bishop *Wilkins*, so he went into most of their principles; but went far beyond them in learning. *Lloyd* *Lloyd,* was a great critick in the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, but chiefly in the Scriptures; of the words and phrases of which he carried the most perfect concordance in his memory, and had it the readiest about him, of all men that ever I knew. He was an exact historian, and the most punctual in chronology of all our Divines. He had read the most books, and with the best judgment, and had made the most copious abstracts out of them, of any in this age: So that *Wilkins* used to say, he had the most learning in ready cash of any he ever knew. He was so exact in every thing he set about, that he

1661. never gave over any part of study, till he had quite mastered it. But when that was done, he went to another subject, and did not lay out his learning with the diligence with which he laid it in. He had many volumes of materials upon all subjects laid together in so distinct a method, that he could with very little labour write on any of them. He had more life in his imagination, and a truer judgment, than may seem consistent with such a laborious course of study. Yet, as much as he was set on learning, he had never neglected his pastoral care. For several years he had the greatest cure in *England*, *St. Martins*, which he took care of with an application and diligence beyond any about him; to whom he was an example, or rather a reproach, so few following his example. He was a holy, humble, and patient man, ever ready to do good when he saw a proper opportunity: Even his love of study did not divert him from that. He did upon his promotion find a very worthy successor in his cure, *Tenison*, who carried on and advanced all those good methods that he had begun in the management of that great cure. He endowed schools, set up a publick library, and kept many Curates to assist him in his indefatigable labours among them. He was a very learned man, and took much pains to state the notions and practices of heathenish idolatry, and so to fasten that charge on the Church of *Rome*: And, *Whitehall* lying within his parish, he stood as in the front of the battel all King *James's* reign; and maintained, as well as managed, that dangerous post with great courage and much judgment, and

*Tenison.*

1661.

and was held in very high esteem for his whole deportment, which was ever grave and moderate. These have been the greatest Divines we have had these forty years: And may we ever have a succession of such men to fill the room of those who have already gone off the stage, and of those who, being now very old, cannot hold their posts long. Of these I have writ the more fully, because I knew them well, and have lived long in great friendship with them; but most particularly with *Tillotson* and *Lloyd*. And, as I am sensible I owe a great deal of the consideration that has been had for me to my being known to be their friend, so I have really learned the best part of what I know from them. But I owed them much more on the account of those excellent principles and notions, of which they they were in a particular manner communicative to me. This set of men contributed more than can be well imagined to reform the way of preaching; which among the Divines of *England* before them was overrun with pedantry, a great mixture of quotations from Fathers and ancient writers, a long opening of a text with the concordance of every word in it, and a giving all the different expositions with the grounds of them, and the entring into some parts of controversy, and all concluding in some, but very short, practical applications, according to the subject or the occasion. This was both long and heavy, when all was py-balled, full of many sayings of different languages. The common style of sermons was either very flat and low, or swelled up with rhetorick to a false pitch of a wrong sublime. The King

The way  
of preach-  
ing which  
then pre-  
vailed.



1661. had little or no literature, but true and good sense; and had got a right notion of style; for he was in *France* at a time when they were much set on reforming their language. It soon appear'd that he had a true taste. So this help'd to raise the value of these men, when the King approved of the style their discourses generally ran in, which was clear, plain, and short. They gave a short paraphrase of their text, unless where great difficulties required a more copious enlargement: But even then they cut off unnecessary shews of learning, and applied themselves to the matter, in which they opened the nature and reasons of things so fully, and with that simplicity, that their hearers felt an instruction of another sort than had commonly been observed before. So they became very much followed: And a set of these men brought off the City in a great measure from the prejudices they had formerly to the Church.

1662. **THERE** was a great debate in Council, a little before St. *Bartholomew's* day, whether the Act of Uniformity should be punctually executed, or not. Some moved to have the execution of it delayed to the next session of Parliament. Others were for executing it in the main, but to connive at some eminent men, & to put Curates into their Churches to read & officiate according to the Common-Prayer, but to leave them to preach on, till they should die out. The Earl of *Manchester* laid all these things before the King with much zeal, but with no great force. *Sheldon* on the other hand press'd the execution of the law: *England* was accustomed

The Act of  
Uniformity  
executed  
with rigor.

accus  
on th  
fear n  
threat  
vacan  
better  
than t  
appreh  
fall un  
of the  
hand,  
to hav  
it into  
that w  
new la  
be desp  
greater  
was th  
to keep  
were c  
They  
God,  
had a f  
dy to  
This  
Where  
were a  
that ca  
Learnin  
study o  
raised b  
They r  
and the  
And th  
Oxford

1661.

accustomed to obey laws: So while they stood on that ground, they were safe, and needed fear none of the dangers that seemed to be threatened: He also undertook to fill all the vacant pulpits, that should be forsaken in *London*, better and more to the satisfaction of the people, than they had been before: And he seemed to apprehend, that a very small number would fall under the deprivation, and that the gross of the party would conform. On the other hand, those who led the party took great pains to have them all stick together: They infused it into them, that if great numbers stood out, that would shew their strength, and produce new laws in their favour; whereas they would be despised, if after so much noise made, the greater part of them should conform. So it was thought, that many went out in the croud to keep their friends company. Many of these were distinguished by their abilities and zeal. They cast themselves upon the providence of God, and the charity of their friends, which had a fair appearance, as of men that were ready to suffer persecution for their consciences. This begot esteem, and raised compassion: Whereas the old Clergy, now much enriched, were as much despised. But the young Clergy that came from the Universities did good service. Learning was then high at *Oxford*; chiefly the study of the oriental tongues, which was much raised by the *Polyglot Bible*, then lately set forth. They read the Fathers much there: Mathematics and the new philosophy were in great esteem. And the meetings that *Wilkins* had begun at *Oxford* were now held in *London* too, in such publick

1662. publick manner, that the King himself encouraged them much, and had many experiments made before him.

The Royal Society.

S. Ward.

R. Boyle.

THE men that formed the Royal Society in *London* were Sir *Robert Murray*, the Lord *Brouncker*, a profound Mathematician, and Doctor *Ward*, soon after promoted to *Exeter*, and afterwards removed to *Salisbury*. *Ward* was a man of great reach, went deep in mathematical studies, and was a very dextrous man, if not too dextrous; for his sincerity was much questioned. He had complied during the late times, and held in by taking the Covenant: So he was hated by the high men as a time-server. But the Lord *Clarendon* saw, that most of the Bishops were men of merit by their sufferings, but of no great capacity for business. So he brought *Ward* in, as a man fit to govern the Church; and *Ward*, to get his former errors to be forgot, went into the high notions of a severe conformity, and became the most considerable man on the Bishops bench. He was a profound States man, but a very indifferent Clergy-man. Many Physicians, and other ingenious men went into the Society for natural Philosophy. But he who laboured most, at the greatest charge, and with the most success at experiments, was *Robert Boyle*, the Earl of *Cork*'s youngest Son. He was looked on by all who knew him, as a very perfect pattern. He was a very devout Christian, humble and modest, almost to a fault, of a most spotless and exemplary life in all respects. He was highly charitable; and was a mortified and self-denied man, that delighted in nothing so much as in do-

doing  
the w  
design  
fermo  
that I  
more  
grew  
take  
body  
which  
Bishop  
the th  
Docto  
them,  
AF  
seeing  
set aga  
what  
Hollan  
Others  
Planta  
to his  
Town  
them,  
make  
their re  
for the  
Noncon  
name  
the war  
to pro  
terms,  
ed with  
motion  
of Eng



doing good. He neglected his person, despised the world, and lived abstracted from all pleasures, designs, and interests. I preached his funeral sermon, in which I gave his character so truly, that I do not think it necessary now to enlarge more upon it. The Society for Philosophy grew so considerable, that they thought fit to take out a patent, which constituted them a body, by the name of the Royal Society; of which Sir *Robert Murray* was the first President, Bishop *Ward* the second, and the Lord *Brouncker* the third. Their history is writ so well by Doctor *Sprat*, that I will insist no more on them, but go on to other matters

1662.

AFTER St. *Bartholomew's* day, the Dissenters, seeing both Court and Parliament was so much set against them, had much consultation together what to do. Many were for going over to *Holland*, and settling there with their Ministers. Others proposed *New-England*, and the other Plantations. Upon this the Earl of *Bristol* drew to his house a meeting of the chief Papists in Town: And after an oath of secrecy he told them, now was the proper time for them to make some steps towards the bringing in of their religion: In order to that it seemed advisable for them to take pains to procure favour to the Nonconformists; (for that became the common name to them all, as Puritan had been before the war;) They were the rather to bestir themselves to procure a toleration for them in general terms, that they themselves might be comprehended within it. The Lord *Aubigny* seconded the motion. He said, it was so visibly the interest of *England* to make a great body of the trading men

Consultations among the Papists.

1662.

men stay within the Kingdom, and be made easy in it, that it would have a good grace in them to seem zealous for it: And, to draw in so great a number of those, who had been hitherto the hottest against them, to feel their care, and to see their zeal to serve them, he recommended to them to make this the subject of all their discourses, and to engage all their friends in the design. *Bennet* did not meet with them, but was known to be of the secret; as the Lord *Stafford* told me in the Tower a little before his death. But that Lord soon withdrew from those meetings: For he apprehended the Earl of *Bristol's* heat, and that he might raise a storm against them by his indiscreet meddling.

A Declara-  
tion for  
toleration.

THE King was so far prevailed on by them, that in *December* 1662 he set out a Declaration, that was generally thought to be procured by the Lord *Bristol*: But it had a deeper root, and was designed by the King himself. In it the King expressed his aversion to all severities on the account of religion, but more particularly to all sanguinary laws; and gave hopes both to Papists and Nonconformists, that he would find out such ways for tempering the severities of the laws, that all his subjects should be easy under them. The wiser of the Nonconformists saw at what all this was aimed, and so received it coldly. But the Papists went on more warmly, and were preparing a scheme for a toleration for them. And one part of it raised great disputes among themselves. Some were for their taking the oath of allegiance, which renounced the Popes deposing power. But all those

those  
refused  
procee  
enemie  
was al  
Priests  
a Bisho  
But tha  
should  
Kingdo  
TH  
knew  
themsel  
such as  
were f  
among  
was pr  
a design  
strength  
Cardina  
had a pa  
and ha  
to let th  
suspecte  
it woul  
believed  
*Allain*  
of Com  
say the  
King w  
were be  
the Lor  
that it f  
a Papist  
that for

those that were under a management from Rome refused this. And the Internuntio at *Brussells* proceeded to censure those that were for it, as enemies to the Papal authority. A proposition was also made for having none but secular Priests tolerated in *England*, who should be under a Bishop, and under an established government. But that all the regulars, in particular all Jesuits, should be under the strictest penalties forbid the Kingdom.

1662.

THE Earl of *Clarendon* set this on; for he knew well it would divide the Papists among themselves. But, tho' a few honest Priests, such as *Blacklow*, *Serjeant*, *Caron*, and *Walsh* were for it, yet they could not make a party among the leading men of their own side. It was pretended, that this was set on foot with a design to divide them, and so to break their strength. The Earl of *Clarendon* knew, that Cardinal *de Retz*, for whom he saw the King had a particular esteem, had come over incognito, and had been with the King in private. So, to let the King see how odious a thing his being suspected of Popery would be, and what a load it would lay on his government if it came to be believed, he got some of his party, as Sir *Allain Broderick* told me, to move in the House of Commons for an Act rendring it capital to say the King was a Papist. And, whereas the King was made to believe that the old Cavaliers were become milder with relation to Popery, the Lord *Clarendon* upon this new Act inferred, that it still appeared that the opinion of his being a Papist would so certainly make him odious, that for that reason the Parliament had made the

Designed  
for the  
Papists.



1662. the spreading those reports so penal. But this was taken by another handle, while some said, that this Act was made on purpose, that, tho' the design of bringing in Popery should become ever so visible, none should dare to speak of it. The Earl of *Clarendon* had a quite contrary design in it, to let the King see how fatal the effects of any such suspicions were like to be. When the Earl of *Bristol's* declaration was proposed in Council, Lord *Clarendon* and the Bishops opposed it. But there was nothing in it directly against law, hopes being only given of endeavours to make all men easy under the King's government: So it pass'd. The Earl of *Bristol* carried it as a great victory. And he, with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and all Lord *Clarendon's* enemies, declared openly against him. But the poor Priests, who had made those honest motions, were very ill looked on by all their own party, as men gained on design to betray them. I knew all this from *Peter Walsh* himself, who was the honestest and learnedest man I ever knew among them. He was of *Irish* extraction, and of the *Franciscan* order: And was indeed in all points of controversy almost wholly Protestant: But he had senses of his own, by which he excused his adhering to the Church of *Rome*: And maintained, that with these he could continue in the communion of that Church without sin; He said, that he was sure he did some good staying still on that side, but that he could do none at all if he should come over: He thought, no man ought to forsake that religion in which he was born and bred, unless he was clearly convinced, that

*P. Walsh.*

that he  
in it.  
practise  
method  
He told  
the wh  
union o  
the Pres  
weaker,  
and that  
another,  
Papists h  
departed  
other wa  
to set o  
general p  
the harsh  
not with  
folly, th  
selves, a  
maxims,  
and to d  
persuaded  
hand on  
been gen  
distinguish  
in the Po  
to which  
never sub  
them into  
selves, th  
at Rome  
test; whic  
and migh  
of the fo

that he must certainly be damned if he continued in it. He was an honest and able man, much practised in intrigues, and knew well the methods of Jesuits, and other Missionaries. He told me often, there was nothing which the whole Popish party feared more than an union of those of the Church of *England* with the Presbyterians: They knew, we grew the weaker, the more our breaches were widened; and that, the more we were set against one another, we would mind them the less. The Papists had two maxims, from which they never departed: The one was to divide us: And the other was to keep themselves united, and either to set on an indiscriminated toleration, or a general prosecution; for so we loved to soften the harsh word of Persecution. And he observed, not without great indignation at us for our folly, that we, instead of uniting among our selves; and dividing them, according to their maxims, did all we could to keep them united, and to disjoint our own body: For he was persuaded, if the government had held an heavy hand on the Regulars and the Jesuits, and had been gentle to the Seculars, and had set up a distinguishing test, renouncing all sort of power in the Pope over the temporal rights of Princes, to which the Regulars and the Jesuits could never submit; that this would have engaged them into such violent quarrels among themselves, that censures would have been thundred at *Rome* against all that should take any such test; which would have procured much disputing, and might have probably ended in the revolt of the soberer part of that Church. But he

W

found

1662.

found, that, tho' the Earl of *Clarendon* and the Duke of *Ormond* liked the project, little regard was had to it by the governing party in the Court.

1663.

*Bristol's*  
designs.

THE Church party was alarmed at all this. And tho' they were unwilling to suspect the King or the Duke, yet the management for Popery was so visible, that in the next session of Parliament the King's declaration was severely arraigned, and the authors of it were plainly enough pointed at. This was done chiefly by the Lord *Clarendon's* Friends. And at this the Earl of *Bristol* was highly displeased, and resolved to take all possible methods to ruine the Earl of *Clarendon*. He had great skill in astrology, and had possessed the King with an high opinion of it: And told the Duke of *Buckingham*, as he said to the Earl of *Rocheſter*, *Wilmot*, from whom I had it, that he was confident that he would lay that before the King, which would totally alienate him both from his brother and from the Lord *Clarendon*: For he could demonstrate by the principles of that art, that he was to fall by his brother's means, if not by his hand: And he was sure this would work on the King. It would so, said the Duke of *Buckingham*, but in another way than he expected: For it would make the King be so afraid of offending his brother, that he would do any thing rather than provoke him. Yet the Lord *Bristol* would lay this before the King. And the Duke of *Buckingham* believed, that it had the effect ever after, that he had apprehended: For tho' the King never loved

not



nor esteemed the Duke, yet he seemed to stand in some sort of awe of him. 1663.

BUT this was not all: The Lord *Bristol* resolved to offer articles of impeachment against the Earl of *Clarendon* to the House of Lords; tho' it was plainly provided against by the statute against appeals in the reign of *Henry* the fourth. Yet both the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Bristol*, the fathers of these two Lords, had broken thro' that in the former reign. So the Lord *Bristol* drew his impeachment, and carried it to the King; who took much pains on him in a soft and gentle manner to dissuade him from it. But he would not be wrought on. And he told the King plainly, that if he forsook him; he would raise such disorders that all *England* should feel them, and the King himself should not be without a large share in them. The King, as the Earl of *Lauderdale* told me, who said he had it from himself, said, he was so provoked at this, that he durst not trust himself in answering it, but went out of the room, and sent the Lord *Aubigny* to soften him: But all was in vain. It is very probable, that the Lord *Bristol* knew the secret of the King's religion, which both made him so bold, and the King so fearful. The next day he carried the charge to the House of Lords. It was of a very mixed nature: In one part he charged the Lord *Clarendon* with raising jealousies, and spreading reports of the King's being a Papist: And yet in the other articles he charged him with correspondence with the Court of *Rome*, in order to the making the Lord *Aubigny* a Cardinal, and several other things of a very

He accused  
*Clarendon*  
in the  
House of  
Lords.

1663.

strange nature. As soon as he put it in, he, it seems, either repented of it, or at least was prevailed with to abscond. He was ever after that looked on, as a man capable of the highest extravagances possible. He made the matter worse by a letter he wrote to the Lords, in which he expressed his fear of the danger the King was in, by the Duke's having of guards. Proclamations went out for discovering him. But he kept out of the way till the storm was over. The Parliament expressed a firm resolution to maintain the A<sup>&</sup> of Uniformity. And the King being run much in debt, they gave him four subsidies, being willing to return to the ancient way of taxes by subsidies. But these were so evaded, and brought in so little money, that the Court resolved never to have recourse to that method of raising money any more, but to betake themselves for the future to the assessment begun in the war. The Convocation gave at the same time four subsidies, which proved as heavy on them, as they were light on the temporality. This was the last aid that the spirituality gave: For the whole proving so inconsiderable, and yet so unequally heavy on the Clergy, it was resolved on hereafter to tax Church benefices as temporal estates were taxed; which proved indeed a lighter burden, but was not so honorable as when it was given by themselves. Yet interest prevailing above the point of honour, they acquiesced in it. So the Convocations being no more necessary to the Crown, this made that there was less regard had to them afterwards. They were often discontinued, and prorogued: And when they met,

The last  
subsidies  
given by  
the Con-  
vocation.

met,  
did pa  
to the  
the Ki  
ments.  
difficul  
which  
Crown  
it was  
people  
was no  
clauses  
a gener  
called  
the pre  
but wit  
was no  
AS for  
in partic  
had ther  
with an  
were pu  
BY  
mily it  
possible  
desired.  
thinking  
tion beg  
upon tha  
to retrie  
taken,  
begg'd h  
be assure  
my uncle  
For the  
him, tha

1663.

met, it was only for form. The Parliament did pass another act, that was very acceptable to the Court, and that shewed a confidence in the King, repealing the act of triennial Parliaments, which had been obtained with so much difficulty, and was clogged with so many clauses, which seemed to transfer the power from the Crown to the people, that, when it was carried, it was thought the greatest security that the people had for all their other liberties. But it was now given up without a struggle, or any clauses for a certainty of Parliaments, besides a general one, that there should be a Parliament called within three years after the dissolution of the present Parliament, and so ever afterwards; but without any severe clauses, in case the Act was not observed.

AS for our foreign negotiations I know nothing in particular concerning them. Secretary *Bennet* had them all in his hands: and I had no confidence with any about him. Our concerns with *Portugal* were publick; & I knew no secrets about them.

A Plot discovered.

BY a melancholy instance to our private family it appeared, that *France* was taking all possible methods to do every thing that the King desired. The Common-wealths-men were now thinking, that they saw the stream of the Nation beginning to turn against the Court; And upon that they were meeting, and laying plots to retrieve their lost game. One of these being taken, and apprehending he was in danger, begg'd his life of the King, and said, if he might be assured of his pardon, he would tell where my uncle *Wariston* was, who was then in *Rouen*: For the air of *Hamborough* agreed so ill with him, that he was advised to go to *France*, and

W 3

this



1663.

this man was on the secret. The King sent one to the Court of *France*, desiring he might be put in his hands: And this was immediately done: And no notice was sent to my uncle to go out of the way, as is usual in such cases, when a person is not charged with assassinations or any infamous action, but only with crimes of State. He was sent over, and kept some months in the Tower of *London*; and from that was sent to *Scotland*, as shall be told afterwards.

The design  
of a war  
with the  
States.

THE design of a war with *Holland* was now working. I have been very positively assured by States-men of both sides, that the *French* set it on in a very artificial manner: For while they encouraged us to insist on some extravagant demands, they at the same time pressed the *Dutch* not to yield to them: And as they put them in hopes, that, if a rupture should follow, they would assist them according to their alliance, so they assured us that they would do us no hurt. *Downing* was then employed in *Holland*, a crafty fawning man, who was ready to turn to every side that was uppermost, and to betray those who by their former friendship and services thought they might depend on him; as he did some of the Regicides, whom he got in his hands under trust, and then delivered them up. He had been *Cromwell's* Ambassadour in *Holland*, where he had offered personal affronts both to the King and the Duke: Yet he had by some base practices got himself to be so effectually recommended by the Duke of *Albermarle*, that all his former offences were forgiven, and he was sent into *Holland* as the

Downing's  
character,

King's

1663.

King's Ambassadour, whose behaviour towards the King himself the States had observed: So they had reason to conclude he was sent over with no good intent, and that he was capable of managing a bad design, and very ready to undertake it. There was no visible cause of war. A complaint of a ship taken was ready to have been satisfied: But *Downing* hindred it. So it was plain, the King hated them; and fancied they were so feeble, and the *English* were so much superiour to them, that a war would humble them to an entire submission and dependence on him in all things. The States had treated, and presented the King with great magnificence, and at a vast charge, during the time that he had staid among them, after *England* had declared for him. And, as far as appearances could go, the King seem'd sensible of it: Insomuch that the party for the Prince of *Orange* were not pleased, because their applications to him could not prevail to make him interpose, either in the behalf of himself, or of his friends, to get the resolutions taken against him to be repealed, or his party again put in places of trust and command. The King put that off as not proper to be pressed by him at that time. But neither then nor afterwards did he bestir himself in that matter. Tho', if either gratitude or interest had been of force, and if these had not been overruled by some more prevalent considerations, he must have been inclined to make some returns for the services the late Prince did him: And he must have seen, what a figure he must make by having the Prince of *Orange* tied to him in interest,

1663.

as much as he was by blood. *France* and Popery were the true springs of all these counsels. It was the interest of the King of *France*, that the Armies of the States might fall under such a feebleness, that they should be in no condition to make a vigorous resistance, when he should be ready either to invade them, or to fall into *Flanders*; which he was resolved to do, whenever the King of *Spain* should die. The *French* did thus set on the war between the *English* and the *Dutch*, hoping that our Fleets should mutually weaken one another so much, that the naval force of *France*, which was increasing very considerably, should be near an equality to them, when they should be shattered by a war. The States were likewise the greatest strength of the Protestant interest, and were therefore to be humbled. So, in order to make the King more considerable both at home and abroad, the Court resolved to prepare for a war, and to seek for such colours as might serve to justify it. The Earl of *Clarendon* was not let into the secret of this design, and was always against it. But his interest was now sunk low: And he began to feel the power of an imperious Mistress over an amorous King, who was so disgusted at the Queen, that he abandoned himself wholly to amour and luxury.

THIS was, as far as I could penetrate into it, the state of the Court for the first four years after the Restoration. I was in the Court a great part of the years 1662, 1663, and 1664; and was as inquisitive as I could possibly be, and had more than ordinary occasions to hear and see a great deal.

BUT

BU  
The E  
came u  
received  
moved  
The L  
fortnight  
accused  
sations  
he aggr  
desired  
him in  
it to Sc  
he had  
time.  
form,  
military  
what b  
this, th  
service  
be take  
and tha  
raged,  
his serv  
had ke  
power,  
by any  
Sheldon  
forgive  
he con  
Church  
fall to  
who kn  
that he  
Lord



BUT now I return to the affairs of *Scotland*:  
 The E. of *Midletoun* after a delay of some months  
 came up to *London*, and was very coldly  
 received by the King. The Earl of *Lauderdale*

1663!

The  
 affairs of  
*Scotland*.

The Lord *Clarendon* got this to be delayed a  
 fortnight. When it met, the Lord *Lauderdale*  
 accused the Earl of *Midletoun* of many malver-  
 sations in the great trust he had been in, which  
 he aggravated severely. The Lord *Midletoun*  
 desired he might have what was objected to  
 him in writing. And when he had it, he sent  
 it to *Scotland*; so that it was six weeks before  
 he had his answer ready; all on design to gain  
 time. He excused some errors in point of  
 form, by saying, that, having served in a  
 military way, he understood not so exactly  
 what belonged to law & form: But insisted on  
 this, that he designed nothing but that the King's  
 service might go on, and that his friends might  
 be taken care of, and his enemies be humbled,  
 and that so loyal a Parliament might be encour-  
 aged, who were full of zeal and affection to  
 his service; that in complying with them, he  
 had kept every thing so entirely in his Majesty's  
 power, that the King was under no difficulties  
 by any thing they had done. In the mean while  
*Sheldon* was very earnest with the King to  
 forgive the Lord *Midletoun*'s crime, otherwise  
 he concluded the change so newly made in the  
 Church would be so ill supported, that it must  
 fall to the ground. The Duke of *Albermarle*,  
 who knew *Scotland*, and had more credit on  
 that head than on any other, pretended that the  
 Lord *Midletoun*'s party was that on which the

*Midletoun*  
 was accu-  
 sed by  
*Lauder-  
 dale*.

W 5

King

1663.

King could only rely: He magnified both their power and their zeal; and represented the Earl of *Lauderdale's* friends, as cold and hollow in the King's service: And, to support all this, the letters that came from *Scotland* were full of the insolencies of the Presbyterians, and of the dejection the Bishops and their friends were under. *Sharp* was prevailed on to go up. He promised to all the Earl of *Midletoun's* friends, that he would stick firm to him; and that he would lay before the King, that his standing or falling must be the standing or falling of the Church. Of this the Earl of *Lauderdale* had advice sent him. Yet when he came to *London*, and saw that the King was alienated from the Lord *Midletoun*, he resolved to make great submissions to the Lord *Lauderdale*. When he reproached him for his engagements with the Earl of *Midletoun*, he denied all; and said, he had never gone farther than what was decent, considering his post. He also denied, he had writ to the King in his favour. But the King had given the original letter to the Lord *Lauderdale*, who upon that shewed it to *Sharp*; with which he was so struck; that he fell a crying in a most abject manner. He begged pardon for it; and said, what could a company of poor men refuse to the Earl of *Midletoun*, who had done so much for them, & had them so entirely in his power. The Lord *Lauderdale* upon this comforted him; and said, he would forgive them all that was past, and would serve them and the Church at another rate than Lord *Midletoun* was capable of doing. So *Sharp* became wholly his. Of all this Lord *Lauderdale* gave  
me

1663.

me a full relation the next day; and shewed me the papers that pass'd between Lord *Midletoun* and him. *Sharp* thought he had escaped well. The Earl of *Midletoun* treated the Bishops too much as his creatures, and assumed a great deal to himself, and expreessed a sort of authority over them; which *Sharp* was uneasy under, tho' he durst not complain of it, or resist it: Whereas he reckoned, that Lord *Lauderdale*, knowing the suspicions that lay on him, as favouring the Presbyterians, would have less credit and courage in opposing any thing that should be necessary for their support. It proved that in this he judged right: For the Lord *Lauderdale*, that he might maintain himself at Court, and with the Church of *England*, was really more compliant and easy to every proposition that the Bishops made, than he would otherwise have been, if he had been always of the Episcopal party. But all he did that way was against his heart, except when his passions were vehemently stirred, which a very slight occasion would readily do.

WHEN the Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Midletoun* had been writing papers and answers for above three months, an accident happened which hastened Lord *Midletoun*'s disgrace. The Earl of *Lauderdale* laid before the King the unjust proceedings in the laying on of the fines. And, to make all that party sure to himself, he procured a letter from the King to the Council in *Scotland*, ordering them to issue out a proclamation, for superseding the execution of the Act of fining till farther order. The Privy Council being then for the greater part composed of  
Lord



1663. Lord *Midletoun*'s friends, it was pretended by some of them, that, as long as he was the King's Commissioner, they could receive and execute no orders from the King, but thro' his hands. So they writ to him, desiring him to represent to the King, that this would be an affront put on the proceedings of Parliament, and would raise the spirits of a party that ought to be kept down. Lord *Midletoun* writ back, that he had laid the matter before the King; and that he, considering better of it, ordered, that no proceeding should be made upon his former letter. This occasioned a hot debate in Council. It was said, a letter under the King's hand could not be countermanded, but from the same hand. So the Council wrote to know the King's mind in the matter. The King protested he knew nothing of it, and that Lord *Midletoun* had not spoke one word on the subject to him. He upon that sent for him, and chid him so severely, that Lord *Midletoun* concluded from it that he was ruined. Yet he always stood upon it, that he had the King's order by word of mouth for what he had done, tho' he was not so cautious as to procure an instruction under his hand for his warrant. It is very probable, that he spoke of it to the King, when his head was full of somewhat else, so that he did not mind it; and that, to get rid of the Earl of *Midletoun*, he bid him do whatsoever he proposed, without reflecting much on it. For the King was at that time often so distracted in his thoughts, that he was not at all times master of himself. The Queen-mother had brought over from *France* one Mrs. *Steward*, reckoned a very great beauty,

beauty,  
Duke o  
be deep  
Mistress  
her hum  
new an  
between  
TO  
called n  
ther, an  
between  
to be re  
of them  
much in  
of conti  
the King  
many,  
if he cor  
Yet he p  
to him,  
man. I  
was sen  
King's h  
Commis  
came to  
violence  
very im  
delivered  
madness  
*Scotland*  
this disg  
Kingdom  
that cam  
was like  
which m

1663

beauty, who was afterwards married to the Duke of *Richmond*. The King was believed to be deeply in love with her. Yet his former Mistress kept her ground still. And, what with her humours and jealousy, and what with this new amour, the King had very little quiet, between both their passions and his own.

TOWARDS the end of *May* the King called many of the *English* Counsellours together, and did order all the papers that had passed between the Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Midletoun* to be read to them. When that was done, many of them who were *Midletoun's* friends said much in excuse of his errors, and of the necessity of continuing him still in that high trust. But the King said, his errors were so great and so many, that the credit of his affairs must suffer, if he continued them any longer in such hands. Yet he promised them, he would be still kind to him, for he looked on him as a very honest man. Few days after that, Secretary *Morrice* was sent to him, with a warrant under the King's hand, requiring him to deliver up his Commission, which he did. And so his Ministry came to an end, after a sort of a reign of much violence and injustice: For he was become very imperious. He and his company were delivered up to so much excess, and to such a madness of frolick and intemperance, that as *Scotland* had never seen any thing like it, so upon this disgrace there was a general joy over the Kingdom: Tho' that lasted not long; for those that came after him grew worse than ever he was like to be. He had lived in great magnificence, which made him acceptable to many: And he

And turned out of all.

was

1663. was a firm friend, tho' a violent enemy. The Earl of *Rothes* was declared the King's Commissioner. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* would not trust him. So he went down with him, and kept him too visibly in a dependence on him, for all his high character.

*Warriston's execution.*

ONE of the first things that was done in this session of Parliament, was the execution of my unfortunate uncle, *Warriston*. He was so disordered both in body and mind, that it was a reproach to a government to proceed against him. His memory was so gone, that he did not know his own children. He was brought before the Parliament, to hear what he had to say, why his execution should not be awarded. He spoke long, but in a broken and disordered strain, which his enemies fancied was put on to create pity. He was sentenced to die. His deportment was unequal, as might be expected from a man in his condition. Yet when the day of his execution came, he was very serene. He was chearful, and seemed fully satisfied with his death. He read a speech twice over on the scaffold, that to my knowledge he composed himself, in which he justified all the proceedings in the Covenant, and asserted his own sincerity; but condemned his joining with *Cromwell* and the Sectaries, tho' even in that his intentions had been sincere, for the good of his Country, and the security of religion. Lord *Lauderdale* had lived in great friendship with him: But he saw the King was so set against him, that he, who at all times took more care of himself than of his friends, would not in so critical a time seem to favour



a man, whom the Presbyterians had set up as a sort of an idol among them, and on whom they did depend more than on any other man then alive.

1663.

THE business of the Parliament went on as the Lord *Landerdale* directed. The whole proceeding in the matter of the balloting was laid open. It appeared, that the Parliament had not desired it, but had been led into it by being made believe that the King had a mind to it. And of all the members of Parliament not above twelve could be prevailed on to own, that they had advised the Earl of *Midletoun* to ask leave of the King for it, whose private suggestions he had represented to the King as the desire of the Parliament. This finished his disgrace, as well as it occasioned the putting all his party out of employments.

WHILE they were going on with their affairs, they understood that an Act had pass'd in the Parliament of *England* against all Conventicles, impowering Justices of Peace to convict offenders without Juries; which was thought a great breach on the security of the *English* constitution, and a raising the power of Justices to a very arbitrary pitch. Any meeting for religious worship, at which five were present more than the family, was declared a Conventicle. And every person above sixteen, that was present at it, was to lye three months in prison, or to pay 5 *l.* for the first offence; six months for the second offence, or to pay 20 *l.* fine; and for the third offence, being convicted by a Jury, was to be banished to any plantation, except *New England* or *Virginia*, or to pay an 100 *l.* All people

An Act  
against  
Conventi-  
cles.

1663.

people were amazed at this severity. But the Bishops in *Scotland* took heart upon it, and resolved to copy from it. So an Act pass'd there, almost in the same terms. And, at the passing it, Lord *Lauderdale* in a long speech expressed great zeal for the Church. There was some little opposition made to it by the Earl of *Kincardin*, who was an enemy to all persecution. But, tho' some few voted against it, it was carried by a great majority:

The constitution of a National Synod.

ANOTHER Act pass'd, declaring the constitution of a National Synod. It was to be composed of the Archbishops and Bishops, of all Deans, and of two to be deputed from every Presbytery; of which the Moderator of the Presbytery named by the Bishop was to be one: All things were to be proposed to this Court by the King or his Commissioner. And whatsoever should be agreed to by the majority and the President, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*; was to have the force of an Ecclesiastical law; when it should be confirmed by the King. Great exceptions were taken to this Act. The Church was restrained from meddling with any thing, but as it should be laid before them by the King; which was thought a severe restraint, like that of the *Proponentibus Legatis* so much complained of at *Trent*. The putting the negative, not in the whole bench of the Bishops, but singly in the President, was thought very irregular. But it pass'd with so little observation, that the Lord *Lauderdale* could scarce believe it was penned as he found it to be, when I told him of it. *Primerose* told me, *Sharp* put that clause in with his own hand. The inferior

Clergy

1663

Clergy complained, that the power was wholly taken from them; since as one of their deputies was to be a person named by the Bishops, so, the Moderators claiming a negative vote in their Presbyteries as the Bishops delegates, the other half were only to consist of persons to whom they consented. The Act was indeed so penned, that no body moved for a National Synod, when they saw how it was to be constituted.

Two other Acts pass'd in favour of the Crown. The Parliament of *England* had laid great impositions on all things imported from *Scotland*: So the Parliament, being speedily to be dissolved, and not having time to regulate such impositions on *English* goods, as might force the *English* to bring that matter to a just balance, they put that confidence in the King, that they left the laying of impositions on all foreign merchandise wholly to him.

Another act was looked on as a pompous complement: And so it pass'd without observation, or any opposition. In it they made an offer to the King of an Army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, to be ready upon summons to march with forty days provision into any part of his Majesty's dominions, to oppose invasions, to suppress insurrections, or for any other cause in which his authority, power, or greatness was concerned. No body dreamt, that any use was ever to be made of this. Yet the Earl of *Landerdale* had his end in it, to let the King see what use he might make of *Scotland*, if he should intend to set up arbitrary government in *England*. He

An Act  
offering an  
Army to  
the King.



1663

told the King, that the Earl of *Midletoun* and his party understood not what was the greatest service that *Scotland* could do him: They had not much treasure to offer him; the only thing they were capable of doing was, to furnish him with a good Army, when his affairs in *England* should require it. And of this he made great use afterwards to advance himself, tho' it could never have signified any thing to the advancing the King's ends. Yet so easy was it to draw the Parliament of *Scotland* to pass Acts of the greatest consequence in a hurry, without considering the effects they might have. After these Acts were pass'd, the Parliament was dissolved; which gave a general satisfaction to the country, for they were a furious set of people. The government was left in the Earl of *Glencairn's* hands, who began, now that he had little favour at Court, to set himself on all occasions to oppose *Sharp's* violent notions. The Earl of *Rothes* stuck firm to *Sharp*; and was recommended by him to the Bishops of *England*, as the only man that supported their interests. The King at at this time restored Lord *Lorn* to his Grand-father's honour, of being Earl of *Argile*, passing over his Father; and gave him a great part of his estate, leaving the rest to be sold for the payment of debts, which did not raise in value above a third part of them. This occasioned a great outcry, that continued long to pursue him.

*Argile*  
restored.

*Sharp*  
drove very  
violently.

*Sharp* went up to *London* to complain of the Lord *Glencairn*, and of the Privy Council where, he said, there was such a remissness, and so much popularity appeared on all occasions,

ons, th  
the ad  
preserv  
used, a  
moved  
him the  
This w  
For in  
oner, a  
cellour  
was to  
ted as r  
moved,  
commis  
Laws r  
Counse  
he desir  
whom h  
them w  
this wor  
Yet he  
own mi  
berty, t  
of that  
him. I  
quair's p  
Bishops  
that ran  
He told  
He was  
said, he  
he had  
would h  
unless it  
Earl of C

1663.

ons, that, unless some more spirit were put in the administration, it would be impossible to preserve the Church. That was the word always used, as if there had been a charm in it. He moved, that a letter might be writ, giving him the precedence of the Lord Chancellor. This was thought an inexcusable piece of vanity; For in *Scotland*, when there was no Commissioner, all matters pass'd thro' the Lord Chancellor's hands, who by Act of Parliament was to preside in all Courts. and was considered as representing the King's person. He also moved, that the King would grant a special commission to some persons for executing the Laws relating to the Church. All the Priy Counsellours were to be of it: But to these he desired many others might be added, for whom he undertook, that they would execute them with zeal. Lord *Lauderdale* saw that this would prove a High-Commission Court; Yet he gave way to it, tho' much against his own mind. Upon these things I took the liberty, tho' then too young to meddle in things of that kind, to expostulate very freely with him. I thought he was acting the Earl of *Traguir's* part, giving way to all the folies of the Bishops on design to ruine them. He upon that ran into a great deal of freedom with me: He told me many passages of *Sharp's* past life: He was perswaded he would ruine all: But, he said, he was resolved to give him line: For he had not credit enough to stop him; nor would he oppose any thing that he proposed, unless it were very extravagant. He saw the Earl of *Glencairn* and he would be in a perpe-

*Lauderdale*  
gave way  
to it.

1664.

tual war: And it was indifferent to him, how matters might go between them: Things would run to a height: And then the King would of himself put a stop to their carier. For the King said often, he was not Priest-ridden: He would not venture a war, nor travel again for any party. This was all that I could obtain from the Earl of *Lauderdale*. I pressed *Sharp* himself to think of more moderate methods. But he despised my applications: And from that time he was very jealous of me.

*Burnet*  
Archbish-  
op of  
*Glasgow*

*Fairfoul*, Archbishop of *Glasgow*, died this year: And one *Burnet* succeeded him, who was a near kinsman of the Lord *Rutherford's*; who from being Governour of *Dunkirk*, when it was sold, was sent to *Tangier*, but soon after in an unhappy encounter, going out to view some grounds, was intercepted, and cut to pieces by the *Moors*. Upon *Rutherford's* recommendation, *Burnet*, who had lived many years in *England*, and knew nothing of *Scotland*, was sent thither, first to be Bishop of *Aberdeen*: And from thence he was raised to *Glasgow*. He was of himself a soft and good natured man, tolerably learned, and of a blameless life; but was a man of no genius: And tho' he was inclined to peacable & moderate counsels, yet he was much in the power of others, & took any impresson that was given him very easily. I was much in his favour at first, but could not hold it long: For as I had been bred up by my father to love liberty and moderation, so I spent the greatest part of the year 1664. in *Holland* and *France*, which contributed not a little to root and fix me in those principles.



I saw much peace and quiet in in *Holland*, notwithstanding the diversity of opinions among them; which was occasioned by the gentleness of the government, and the toleration that made all people easy and happy. An universal industry was 'spread thro' the whole countrey. There was little aspiring to preferment in the State, because little was to be got that way. They were then apprehending a war with *England*, and were preparing for it. From thence, where every thing was free, I went to *France*, where nothing was free. The King was beginning to put things in great method, in his revenue, in his troops, in his government at home, but above all in the increasing of trade, and the building of a great fleet. His own deportment was solemn and grave, save only that he kept his Mistrisses very avowedly. He was diligent in his own councils, and regular in the dispatch of his affairs: So that all things about him looked like the preparing of matters for all that we have seen acted since. The King of *Spain* was considered as dying: And the Infant his son was like to die as soon as he: So that it was generally believed, the *French* King was designing to set up a new Empire in the *West*. He had carried the quarrel at *Rome* about the *Corfes* so high with the House of *Chigi*, that the Protestants were beginning to flatter themselves with great hopes. When I was in *France*, Cardinal *Chigi* came, as Legate, to give the King full satisfaction in that matter. Lord *Hollis* was then Ambassadour at *Paris*. I was so effectually recommended to him, that he used me with great freedom, which he continued to do to the

A view of  
the state  
of affairs in  
*Holland &*  
*France*.

1664.

end of his days. He stood upon all the points of an Ambassadour, with the stiffness of former ages, which made him very unacceptable to a high-spirited, young Prince, who began even then to be flattered, as if he had been somewhat more than a mortal. This established me in my love of law and liberty, and in my hatred of absolute power. When I came back, I stay'd for some months at Court, and observed the scene as carefully as I could, and became acquainted with all the men that were employed in *Scottish* affairs. I had more than ordinary opportunities of being well informed about them. This drew a jealousy on me from the Bishops, which was increased from the friendship into which *Leighton* received me. I pass'd for one, who was no great friend to Church power, nor to persecution. So it was thought, that Lord *Lauderdale* was perparing me, as one who was known to have been always Episcopal, to be set up against *Sharp* and his set of men, who were much hated by one side, and not loved, nor trusted, by the other.

*Sharp*  
aspired to  
be Chan-  
cellour of  
*Scotland*.

IN the mean while the Earl of *Glencairn* died, which set *Sharp* at ease, but put him on new designs. He apprehended, that the Earl of *Tweeddale* might be advanced to that post: For in the settlement of the Duchess of *Buccleugh's* estate, who was married to the Duke of *Monmouth*, the best beloved of all the King's children, by which, in default of issue by her, it was to go to the Duke of *Monmouth* and the issue he might have by any other wife, the Earl of *Tweeddale*, tho' his children were the next heirs, who were by this depriv'd of their

right,

right, had yet given way to it in so frank a manner, that the King was enough inclined both to oblige and to trust him. But *Sharp* had great suspicions of him, as cold in their concerns. So he writ to *Sheldon*, that upon the disposal of the seals the very being of the Church did so absolutely depend, that he begged he would press the King very earnestly in the matter, and that he would move that he might be called up before that post should be filled. The King bid *Sheldon* assure him, he should take a special care of that matter, but that there was no occasion for his coming up: For the King by this time had a very ill opinion of him. *Sharp* was so mortified with this, that he resolved to put all to hazard; for he believed all was at stake: And he ventured to come up. The King received him coldly; and asked him, if he had not received the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* letter. He said, he had: But he would choose rather to venture on his Majesty's displeasure, than to see the Church ruined thro' his caution or negligence. He knew the danger they were in in *Scotland*, where they had but few and cold friends, and many violent enemies: His Majesty's protection, and the execution of the law, were the only things they could trust to: And these so much depended on the good choice of a Chancellour, that he could not answer it to God and the Church, if he did not bestir himself in that matter. He knew many thought of himself for that post: But he was so far from that thought, that, if his Majesty had any such intention, he would rather choose to be sent to a plantation. He desired, that he might be a



1664. Church-man in heart, but not in habit, that should be raised to that trust. These were his very words, as the King reported them. From him he went to *Sheldon*, and press'd him to move the King for himself, and furnished him with many reasons to support the proposition; a main one being, that the late King had raised his predecessor *Spotswood* to that trust. *Sheldon* upon that did move the King with more than ordinary earnestness in it. The King suspected *Sharp* had set him on, and charged him to tell him the truth. The other did it, tho' not without some uneasiness. Upon that the King told him what he had said to himself. And then it may be easily imagined in what a style they both spoke of him. Yet *Sheldon* prayed the King that, whatsoever he might think of the man, he would consider the Archbishop and the Church; which the King assured him he would do. *Sheldon* told *Sharp*, that he saw the motion for himself did not take; so he must think of somewhat else. *Sharp* proposed, that the seals might be put in the Earl of *Rothes*'s hands, till the King should pitch on a proper person. He also proposed, that the King would make him his Commissioner, in order to the preparing matters for a National Synod, that they might settle a book of Common-prayer, and a book of Canons. This, he said, must be carried on slowly, and with great caution; of which the late troubles did demonstrate the necessity.

*Rothes* had the whole power of Scotland put in his hands.

ALL this was easily agreed to: For the King loved the Lord *Rothes*: And the Earl of *Lauderdale* would not oppose his advancement: Tho' it was a very extravagant thing to see one man

man p  
poor  
not abj  
Lord  
be still  
of the C  
disgrac  
guards  
Comm  
Chance  
master-  
by his  
him. H  
to prep  
in the  
related  
So, w  
said to  
could  
Church  
in Scot  
either t  
so they  
scene o  
govern  
to plea  
all the  
piece o  
ought t

TH  
matters  
obedier  
the We  
And th

1664.

man possess so many of the chief places of so poor a Kingdom. The Earl of *Crawford* would not abjure the Covenant; so *Rothes* had been made Lord Treasurer in his place: He continued to be still, what he was before, Lord President of the Council: And, upon the Earl of *Midletoun's* disgrace, he was made Captain of a troop of guards: And now he was both the King's Commissioner, and upon the matter Lord Chancellour. *Sharp* reckoned this was his master-piece. Lord *Rothes*, being thus advanced by his means, was in all things governed by him. His instructions were such as *Sharp* proposed, to prepare matters for a National Synod, and in the mean while to execute the Laws that related to the Church with a steady firmness. So, when he parted from *White-hall*, *Sharp* said to the King, that he had now done all that could be desired of him for the good of the Church: So that, if all matters went not right in *Scotland*, none must bear the blame, but either the Earl of *Lauderdale* or *Rothes*. And so they came to *Scotland*, where a very furious scene of illegal violence was opened. *Sharp* governed Lord *Rothes*, who abandoned himself to pleasure. And, when some censured this, all the answer that was made was, a severe piece of raillery, that the King's Commissioner ought to represent his person.

THE government of *Scotland* as to civil matters was very easy. All were quiet and obedient. But all those Counties that lye towards the *West* became very fierce and intractable: And the whole work of the Council was to

1665.

Illegal and severe proceedings in *Scotland*.

X 5

deal

1665.

deal with them, and to subdue them. It was not easy to prove any thing against any of them, for they all stuck firm to one another. The people complained of the new set of Ministers, that was sent among them, as immoral, stupid, and ignorant. Generally they forsook their Churches: Or, if any of them went to Church, they said, they were little edified with their sermons. And the whole country was full of strange reports of the weakness of their preaching, and of the indecency of their whole deportment. The people treated them with great contempt, and with an aversion that broke out often into violence and injustice. But their Ministers on their parts were not wanting in their complaints, aggravating matters, and possessing the Bishops with many stories of designs and plottings against the State. So, many were brought before the Council, and the new Ecclesiastical Commission, for pretended riots, and for using their Ministers ill, but chiefly for not coming to Church, and for holding Conventicles. The proofs were often defective, and lay rather in presumptions, than clear evidence: And the punishments proposed were often arbitrary, not warranted by law. So the Judges and other lawyers that were of those Courts, were careful to keep proceedings according to forms of law: Upon which *Sharp* was often complaining, that favour was shown to the enemies of the Church, under the pretence of law. It was said, that the people of the country were in such a combination, that it was not possible to find witnesses to prove things fully: And he often said, must the Church

be

be r  
coul  
a mi  
who  
take  
prop  
Grea  
were  
they  
about  
on al  
it, an  
they  
libert  
BU  
with  
begin  
that a  
those  
dertoo  
were  
Lord  
done:  
Gentle  
were,  
they b  
tenants  
hated t  
for it.  
Kincar  
Lander  
those m  
ings in  
te censu  
to be th  
the Chu



1665.

he ruined for punctilios of law : When he could not carry matters by a vote, as he had a mind, he usually looked to the Earl of *Rothes*; who upon that was ever ready to say, he would take it upon him to order the matter as *Sharp* proposed, and would do it in the King's name. Great numbers were cast in prison, where they were kept long, and ill used : And sometimes they were fined, and the younger sort whipt about the streets. The people grew more sullen on all this ill usage. Many were undone by it, and went over to the *Scots* in *Ulster*, where they were well received, and had all manner of liberty as to their way of religion.

*BURNET* was sent up to possess the King with the apprehensions of a rebellion in the beginning of the *Dutch* war. He proposed that about twenty of the chief gentlemen of those Counties might be secured : And he undertook for the peace of the country, if they were clap'd up. This was plainly illegal : But the Lord *Lauderdale* opposed nothing. So it was done : But with a very ill effect. For those Gentlemen, knowing how obnoxious they were, had kept measures a little better : But they being put in prison, both their friends and tenants laid all to the door of the Clergy, and hated them the more, and used them the worse for it. The Earls of *Argile*, *Tweeddale*, and *Kincardin*, who were considered as the Lord *Lauderdale*'s chief friends, were cold in all those matters. They studied to keep proceedings in a legal channel, and were for moderate censures : Upon which *Sharp* said, they appeared to be the friends and favourers of the enemies of the Church.

WHER-

1665.

*Turner*  
executed  
the laws in  
a military  
way.

WHEREVER the people had generally forsaken their Churches, the Guards were quartered thro' the country. Sir *James Turner*, that commanded them, was naturally fierce, but was mad when he was drunk; and that was very often. So he was ordered by the Lord *Rothes* to act according to such directions as *Burnet* should send him. And he went about the country, and received such lists, as the Ministers brought him, of those who came not to Church: And, without any other proof or any legal conviction, he set such a fine on them, as he thought they could pay, and sent soldiers to lie on them till it was paid. I knew him well afterwards, when he came to himself, being out of employment. He was a learned man; but had been always in armies, and knew no other rule but to obey orders. He told me, he had no regard to any law, but acted, as he was commanded, in a military way. He confessed, it went often against the grain with him to serve such a debauched and worthless company, as the Clergy generally were; and that sometimes he did not act up to the rigour of his orders; for which he was often chid, both by Lord *Rothers* and *Sharp*, but was never check'd for his illegal and violent proceedings. And, tho' the complaints of him were very high, so that when he was afterwards seized on by the party, they intended to make a sacrifice of him; yet when they looked into his orders, and found that his proceedings, how fierce soever, fell short of these, they spared him, as a man that had merited by being so gentle among them.

THE

TH  
looke  
than o  
satisfi  
in the  
waite  
of wh  
their m  
for it.  
*Rothers*  
that t  
must c  
he had  
on fire  
before  
*Sharp*  
should  
that of  
the par  
ported  
have b  
they g  
mind  
Lord  
observ  
another  
told th  
But he  
*Sharp*  
King  
the be  
in wri  
follow  
such a  
cation.

THE truth is, the whole face of the government looked liker the proceedings of an Inquisition, than of legal Courts: And yet *Sharp* was never satisfied. So Lord *Rothes* and he went up to Court in the first year of the *Dutch* war. When they waited first on the King, *Sharp* put him in mind of what he had said at his last parting, that if their matters went not well, none must be blamed for it, but either the Earl of *Lauderdale*, or of *Rothes*: And now he came to tell his Majesty, that things were worse than ever: And he must do the Earl of *Rothes* the justice to say, he had done his part. Lord *Lauderdale* was all on fire at this, but durst not give himself vent before the King. So he only desired, that *Sharp* would come to particulars: And then he should know what he had to say. *Sharp* put that off in a general charge; and said, he knew the party so well, that, if they were not supported by secret encouragements, they would have been long ago weary of the opposition they gave the government. The King had no mind to enter farther into their complaints. So Lord *Rothes* and he withdrew; and were observed to look very pleasantly upon one another, as they went away. Lord *Lauderdale* told the King, he was now accused to his face: But he would quickly let him see what a man *Sharp* was. So he obtained a message from the King to him, of which he himself was to be the bearer, requiring him to put his complaints in writing, and to come to particulars. He followed *Sharp* home, who received him with such a gayity, as if he had given him no provocation. But Lord *Lauderdale* was more solemn;  
and

1663

*Sharps*  
accuses  
*Lauder-*  
*dale*, &c  
retracts.



1665.

and told him, it was the King's pleasure, that he should put the accusation with which he had charged him in writing. *Sharp* pretended, he did not comprehend his meaning. He answered, the matter was plain: He had accused him to the King: And he must either go thorough with it, and make it out, otherwise he would charge him with leasing-making: And spoke in a terrible tone to him. Upon that, as he told me, *Sharp* fell a trembling and weeping: He protested, he meant no harm to him: He was only sorry that his friends were upon all occasions pleading for favour to the *Fanatics*: (That was become the name of reproach.) Lord *Lauderdale* said, that would not serve turn: He was not answerable for his friends, except when they acted by directions from him. *Sharp* offer'd to go with him presently to the King, and to clear the whole matter. Lord *Lauderdale* had no mind to break openly with him. So he accepted of this, and carried him to the King; where he retracted all he had said, in so gross a manner, that the King said afterwards, Lord *Lauderdale* was ill natured to press it so heavily, and to force *Sharp* on giving himself the lye in such course terms.

*Sharp*  
studies  
to bring  
*Midletoun*  
into busi-  
ness again.

THIS went to *Sharp*'s heart: So he made a proposition to the Earl of *Dumfreis*, who was a great friend of the Lord *Midletoun*'s, to try if a reconciliation could be made between him and the Earl of *Rothes*, and if he would be content to come into the government under Lord *Rothes*. Lord *Dumfreis* went into *Kent*, where the Lord *Midletoun* was then employed

in

a military command on the account of the war: 1665.  
And he laid *Sharp's* proposition before him. The Earl of *Midletoun* gave Lord *Dumfreis* power to treat in his name; but said, he knew *Sharp* too well to regard any thing that came from him. Before Lord *Dumfreis* came back, *Sharp* had tried Lord *Roths*, but found he would not meddle in it: And they both understood, that the Earl of *Clarendon's* interest was declining, and that the King was like to change his measures. So when Lord *Dumfreis* came back to give *Sharp* an account of his negotiation, he seemed surpris'd, and denied he had given him any such commission. This enrag'd the Earl of *Dumfreis* so, that he published the thing in all companies: Among others he told it very particularly to my self.

AT that time *Leightoun* was prevail'd on to go to Court, and to give the King a true account of the proceedings in *Scotland*; which, he said, were so violent, that he could not concur in the planting the Christian religion it self in such a manner, much less a form of government. He therefore begged leave to quit his Bishoprick, and to retire: For he thought he was in some sort accessory to the violences done by others, since he was one of them, and all was pretended to be done to establish them and their order. There were indeed no violences committed in his diocese. He went round it continually every year, preaching and catechizing from parish to parish. He continued in his private and ascetick course of life, and gave all his income, beyond the small expence of his own person, to the poor. He studied to raise in his Clergy

1665. Clergy a greater sense of spiritual matters, and of the care of souls; and was in all respects a burning and shining light, highly esteemed by the greater part of his diocese: Even the Presbyterians were much mollified, if not quite overcome, by his mild and heavenly course of life. The King seemed touched with the state that the country was in: He spoke very severely of *Sharp*; and assured *Leightoun*, he would quickly come to other measures, and put a stop to those violent methods: But he would by no means suffer him to quit his Bishoprick. So the King gave orders that the Ecclesiastical Commission should be discontinued; and signified his pleasure, that another way of proceeding was necessary for his affairs.

More  
forces  
rais'd in  
Scotland.

HE understood by his intelligence from *Holland*, that the exiles at *Rotterdam* were very busy, and that perhaps the *Dutch* might furnish the malcontents of *Scotland* with money and arms: So he thought it was necessary to raise more troops. Two gallant officers, that had served him in the wars, and, when these were over, had gone with his letters to serve in *Muscovy*, where one of them, *Dalziell*, was raised to be a General, and the other, *Drumond*, was advanced to be a Lieutenant General, and Governour of *Smolensko*, were now, not without great difficulty, sent back by the *Czar*. So the King intended they should command some forces that he was to raise. *Sharp* was very apprehensive of this: But the King was positive. A little before this, the Act of fining, that had lain so long asleep that it was thought forgot, was revived. And all who had been fined were required to bring in one moiety of their fines.

But:



1665.

But the other moiety was forgiven those who took the Declaration renouncing the Covenant. The money was by Act of Parliament to be given among those who had served, and suffered for the King; so that the King had only the trust of distributing it. There was no more *Scottish* Councils called at *White-Hall* after Lord *Middleton's* fall. But upon particular occasions the King ordered the Privy Counsellours of that Kingdom, that were about the town, to be brought to him: Before whom he now laid out the necessity of raising some more force for securing the quiet of *Scotland*: He only asked their advice, how they should be paid. *Sharp* very readily said, the money raised by the fining was not yet disposed of: So he proposed the applying it to that use. None opposed this: So it was resolved on. And by that means the Cavaliers, who were come up with their pretensions, were disappointed of their last hopes of being recompensed for their sufferings. The blame of all this was cast upon *Sharp*, at which they were out of measure enraged, and charged him with it. He denied it boldly: But the King published it so openly, that he durst not contradict him. Many, to whom he had denied that he knew any thing of the matter, and called that advice, diabolical invention, affirmed it to the King. And the Lord *Lauderdale*, to compleat his disgrace with the King, got many of his letters, which he had writ to the Presbyterians after the time in which the King knew that he was negotiating for Episcopacy; in which he had continued to protest with what zeal he was soliciting their concerns, not without dreadful

Y

impre-

and  
ts a  
by  
sby-  
quite  
e of  
state  
erely  
ould  
stop  
y no  
o the  
om-  
d his  
was  
  
from  
very  
rnish  
oney  
ry to  
that  
these  
serve  
, was  
mond,  
, and  
thout  
o the  
some  
very  
sitive.  
at had  
rgot,  
l wer  
ines e  
But:

# 354 The HISTORY of the Reign

1665. imprecations on himself if he was prevaricating with them, and laid these before the King: So that the King looked on him as one of the worst of men.

1666. MANY of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland were much offended at all these proceedings.

Some eminent Clergy-men in Scotland offended at these proceedings.

They saw the prejudices of the people were increased by them. They hated violent courses, and thought they were contrary to the meek spirit of the gospel, and that they alienated the Nation more from the Church. They set themselves much to read Church-history, and to observe the state of the Primitive Church, and the spirit of those times: And they could not but observe so great a difference between the constitution of the Church under those Bishops, and our own, that they seemed to agree in nothing but the name. I happened to be settled near two of the most eminent of them, who were often moved to accept of Bishopricks, but always refused them, both out of a true principle of humility and self-denial, and also because they could not engage in the methods by which things were carried on. One of these, Mr. Nairn, was one of the politest Clergy-men I ever knew bred in Scotland. He had formed clear and lively schemes of things, and was the most eloquent of all our preachers. He considered the pastoral function as a dedication of the whole man to God & his service. He read the moral Philosophers much, and had wrought himself into their equal temper, as much as could consist with a great deal of fire that was in his own: But he turned it all to melting devotion. He had a true notion of superstition.

Mr. Nairn

1664.

as a narrowness of soul, and a meanness of thought in religion. He studied to raise all that conversed with him to great notions of God, and to an universal charity. This made him pity the Presbyterians, as men of low notions and ill tempers. He had indeed too much heat of imagination, which carried him to be very positive in some things, in which he afterwards changed his mind: And that made him pass for an inconstant man. In a word, he was the brightest man I ever knew among all our *Scottish* Divines. Another of these was Mr. *Charteris*, a man of a composed and serene gravity, but without affectation or sourness. He scarce ever spoke in company, but was very open and free in private. He made true judgments of things, and of men; and had a peculiar talent in managing such as he thought deserved his pains. He had little heat, either in body or mind: For as he had a most emaciated body, so he spoke both slow, and in so low a voice that he could not easily be heard. He had great tenderness in his temper; and was a very perfect friend, and a most sublime Christian. He lived in a constant contempt of the world, and a neglect of his person. There was a gravity in his conversation that raised an attention, and begot a composedness, in all about him, without frightening them; for he made religion appear amiable in his whole deportment. He had read all the lives and the epistles of great men very carefully. He had read the Fathers much; and gave me this notion of them, that in speculative points, for which writers of Controversy fear-



1666.

ched into their works, they were but ordinary men: But their excellency lay in that, which was least sought for, their sense of spiritual things, and of the pastoral care. In these he thought their strength lay. And he often lamented, not without some indignation, that, in the disputes about the government of the Church, much pains was taken to seek out all those passages that shewed what their opinions were; but that due care was not taken to set out the notions that they had of the sacred function, of the preparation of mind, and inward vocation, with which men ought to come to holy orders, or of the strictness of life, the deadness to the world, the heavenly temper, and the constant application to the doing of good, that became them. Of these he did not talk like an angry reformer, that set up in that strain, because he was neglected or provoked; but like a man full of a deep, but humble sense of them. He was a great enemy to large confessions of faith, chiefly when they were imposed in the lump as tests: For he was positive in very few things. He had gone thro' the chief parts of learning: But was then most conversant in history, as the innocentest sort of study, that did not fill the mind with subtilty, but helped to make a man wiser and better. These were both single persons, and men of great sobriety: And they lived in a constant low diet, which they valued more than severer fasting. Yet they both became miserable by the stone. *Nairn* went to *Paris*, where he was cut of a great one, of which he recovered, but lived not many years after.

after  
in the  
years  
stone,  
to cut  
how h  
they sa  
submis  
happin  
world  
I fell  
into a  
both se  
made a  
ned, fi  
fairs.  
was in  
their fu  
zeal kin  
not onl  
gainst th  
of their  
their dion  
no care  
vice: Th  
ty were  
took no  
rules, a  
was a le  
them, th  
was ind  
that was  
prudence  
der *Shar*  
to him.

after. *Charteris* lived to a great age, and died 1666.  
in the end of the year 1700, having in his last  
years suffered unspeakable torment from the  
stone, which the operators would not venture  
to cut. But all that saw what he suffered, and  
how he bore it, acknowledged that in him  
they saw a most perfect pattern of patience and  
submission to the will of God. It was a great  
happiness for me, after I had broke into the  
world by such a ramble as I had made, that  
I fell into such hands, with whom I entered  
into a close and particular friendship. They  
both set me right, and kept me right; tho' I  
made at this time a falley that may be mentio-  
ned, since it had some relation to publick af-  
fairs. I observed the deportment of our Bishops  
was in all points so different from what became  
their function, that I had a more than ordinary  
zeal kindled within me upon it. They were  
not only furious against all that stood out a-  
gainst them, but were very remiss in all the parts  
of their function. Some did not live within  
their diocese: And those who did seemed to take  
no care of them. They shewed no zeal against  
vice: The most eminently wicked in the Coun-  
ty were their particular confidents: They  
took no pains to keep their Clergy strictly to  
rules, and to their duty: On the contrary there  
was a levity and a carnal way of living about  
them, that very much scandalized me. There  
was indeed one *Scougal*, Bishop of *Aberdeen*,  
that was a man of rare temper, great piety and  
prudence: But I thought he was too much un-  
der *Sharp's* conduct, and was at least too easy  
to him.

1666.

Some of  
grievances  
of the  
Clergy laid  
before the  
Bishops.

UPON all this I took a resolution of drawing up a memorial of the grievances we lay under by the ill conduct of our Bishops. I resolved, that no other person besides my self should have a share in any trouble it might bring on me: So I communicated it to none. This made it not to be in all the parts of it so well digested, as it otherwise might have been: And I was then but three and twenty. I laid my foundation in the constitution of the primitive Church; and shewed how they had departed from it, by their neglecting their diocese, meddling so much in secular affairs, raising their families out of the revenues of the Church, and above all by their violent prosecuting of those who differ'd from them. Of this I writ out some copies, and signed them, and sent them to all the Bishops of my acquaintance. *Sharp* was much alarmed at it, and fancied I was set on to it by some of the Lord *Lauderdale's* friends. I was called before the Bishops, and treated with great severity. *Sharp* called it a libel. I said, I had set my name to it, so it could not be called a libel. He charged me with the presumption of offering to teach my superiours. I said, such things had been not only done, but justified in all ages. He charged me for reflecting on the King's putting them on his Councils: I said, I found no fault with the King for calling them to his counsels; but with them for going out of that which was their proper province, and for giving ill counsel. Then he charged me for reflecting on some severities, which, he said, was a reproaching publick Courts, and a censuring the laws. I said,

said,  
ways  
of Cle  
of the  
dictate  
and pr  
summe  
But n  
this m  
What  
red:  
*Laud*  
with  
it, w  
was t  
purpo  
it mi  
fation  
of ret  
study,

T  
in the  
the ex  
of *Ex*  
tively  
winte  
of en  
groun  
was f  
ly ov  
that v  
who  
cerni  
was



said, laws might be made *in terrorem*, not always fit to be executed: But I only complained of Clergy-mens pressing the rigorous execution of them, and going often beyond what the law dictated. He broke out into a great vehemence; and proposed to the Bishops, that I should be summarily deprived, and excommunicated: But none of them would agree to that. By this management of his the thing grew publick. What I had ventured on was variously censured: But the greater part approved of it. Lord *Lauderdale* and all his friends were delighted with it: And he gave the King an account of it, who was not ill pleased at it. Great pains was taken to make me ask pardon, but to no purpose: So *Sharp* let the thing fall. But, that it might appear that I had not done it upon any factious design, I entered into a very close state of retirement; and gave my self wholly to my study, and the duties of my function.

1666.

THUS I have run over the state of *Scotland* in the years, 1663, 1664, 1665, and till near the end of 1666. I now return to the affairs of *England*; in which I must write more defectively, being then so far from the scene. In winter 1664, the King declared his resolution of entering into a war with the *Dutch*. The grounds were so slight, that it was visible there was some-what more at bottom, than was openly owned. A great comet, which appeared that winter, raised the apprehensions of those, who did not enter into just speculations concerning those matters. The House of Commons was so far from examining nicely into the

1664.

Affairs in  
*England*.

The *Dutch*  
war.

1664.

1665.

The Plague  
broke out  
at the same  
time.

grounds of the war, that without any difficulty they gave the King two millions and a half for carrying it on. A great fleet was set out, which the Duke commanded in person; as *Opdam* had the command of the *Dutch* Fleet. But as soon as the war broke out, a most terrible Plague broke out also in the city of *London*, that scattered all the inhabitants that were able to remove themselves elsewhere. It broke the trade of the Nation, and swept away about an hundred thousand souls; the greatest havock that any Plague had ever made in *England*. This did dishearten all people; And, coming in the very time in which so unjust a war was begun, it had a dreadful appearance. All the King's enemies, and the enemies of Monarchy said, here was a manifest character of God's heavy displeasure upon the Nation; as indeed the ill life the King led, and the viciousness of the whole Court, gave but a melancholy prospect. Yet God's ways are not as our ways. What all had seen in the year 1660 ought to have silenced those, who at this time pretended to comment on providence. But there will be always much discourse of things that are very visible, as well as very extraordinary.

The victory  
at Sea  
not followed.

WHEN the two fleets met, it is well known what accidents disorderd the *Dutch*, and what advantage the *English* had. If that first success had been followed, as was proposed, it might have been fatal to the *Dutch*, who finding they had suffered so much, steered off. The Duke ordered all the sail to be set on to overtake them. There was a Council of war called,

to

to concert the method of action, when they should come up with them. In that Council *Pen*, who commanded under the Duke, happened to say, that they must prepare for hotter work in the next engagement. He knew well the courage of the *Dutch* was never so high, as when they were desperate. The Earl of *Montague*, who was then a volunteer, and one of the Duke's Court, said to me, it was very visible that made an impression. And all the Duke's domesticks said; he had got honour enough: Why should he venture a second time? The Duchess had also given a strict charge to all the Duke's servants, to do all they could to hinder him to engage too far. When matters were settled, they went to sleep: And the Duke ordered a call to be given him, when they should get up to the *Dutch* fleet. It is not known what pass'd between the Duke and *Brounker*, who was of his Bed chamber, and was then in waiting: But he came to *Pen*, as from the Duke, and said, the Duke ordered the sail to be slackened. *Pen* was struck with the order; but did not go to argue the matter with the Duke himself, as he ought to have done, but obey'd it. When the Duke had slept, he, upon his waking, went out on the quarter-deck, and seemed amazed to see the sails slackened, and that thereby all hope of overtaking the *Dutch* was lost. He questioned *Pen* upon it. *Pen* put it on *Brounker*, who said nothing. The Duke denied he had given any such order. But he neither punished *Brounker* for carrying it, nor *Pen* for obeying it. He indeed put *Brounker* out of his service: And it was said,

Y s

that

1665



1665. that he durst do no more, because he was so much in the King's favour, and in the Mistress's. *Pen* was more in his favour after that, than ever before, which he continued to his son after him, tho' a Quaker: And it was thought, that all that favour was to oblige him to keep the secret. Lord *Montague* did believe, that the Duke was struck, seeing the Earl of *Falmouth*, the King's favourite, and two other persons of quality, killed very near him; and that he had no mind to engage again, and that *Pen* was privately with him. If *Brouncker* was so much in fault, as he seemed to be, it was thought, the Duke, in the passion that this must have raised in him, would have proceeded to greater extremities, and not have acted with so much phlegm. This proved the breaking the designs of the King's whole reign: For the *Dutch* themselves believed that, if our fleet had followed them with full sail, we must have come up with them next tide, and have either sunk or taken their whole fleet. *De Wit* was struck with this misfortune: And, imputing some part of it to errors in conduct, he resolved to go on board himself, as soon as their fleet was ready to go to sea again

An account of  
the affairs  
of Holland.

UPON this occasion I will say a little of *De Wit*, and of the affairs of *Holland*. His father was the deputy of the town of *Dort* in the States, when the late Prince of *Orange* was so much offended with their proceedings in disbanding a great part of their Army: And he was one of those whom he ordered upon that to be carried to the Castle of *Lovestein*. Soon after that, his design on *Amsterdam* miscarrying, he



JEAN DE WITT PENSIONAIRE  
DE HOLLANDE ETC.

as so  
ifs's.  
than  
son  
ught.  
keep  
that  
rl of  
other  
and  
l that  
was  
was  
must  
ed to  
ith so  
g the  
or the  
et had  
have  
either  
t was  
outing  
olved  
r fleet  
  
tle of  
father  
in the  
was so  
gs in  
And he  
n that  
Soon  
rrying,  
he

And was commonly called the Great Pensioner



be saw  
with  
healed  
Upon  
and th  
So De  
five y  
Dort.  
of Ho  
Hollan  
which  
great  
Curv  
to per  
matte  
himse  
that h  
their  
mann  
State  
table  
coul  
frank  
ther  
accu  
know  
custo  
sion  
him  
and  
Anc  
as r  
son  
of r  
An



he saw a necessity of making up the best he could with the States. But, before he had quite healed that wound, he died of the small-pox. Upon his death all his party fell in disgrace, and the *Lovesteiners* carried all before them. So *De Wit* got his son *John*, then but twenty five years of age, to be made pensioner of *Dort*. And within a year after, the pensioner of *Holland* dying, he was made Pensioner of *Holland*. His breeding was to the civil law, which he understood very well. He was a great Mathematicien: And, as his *Elementa Curvarum* shew what a man he was that way, so perhaps no man ever applied *Algebra* to all matters of trade so nicely as he did. He made himself so entirely master of the state of *Holland*, that he understood exactly all the concerns of their revenue, and what sums, and in what manner, could be raised upon any emergent of State. For this he had a pocket book full of tables, and was ever ready to shew how they could be furnished with money. He was a frank, sincere man, without fraud or any other artifice but silence: To which he had so accustomed the world, that it was not easy to know, whether he was silent on design, or custom. He had a great clearness of apprehension: And when any thing was proposed to him, how new soever, he heard all patiently, and then asked such questions as occurred to him: And by the time he had done all this, he was as much master of the proposition, as the person was that had made it. He knew nothing of modern history, nor of the state of Courts: And was eminently defective in all points of form.

1665:

*J. de Wit's*  
character.

1667.

form. But he laid down this for a maxim, that all Princes and States followed their own interests: So, by observing what their true interests were, he thought, he could without great intelligence calculate what they were about. He did not enough consider how far passions, amours, humours, and opinions wrought on the world; chiefly on Princes. He had the notions of a Common-wealth from the *Greeks* and *Romans*. And from them he came to fancy, that an Army commanded by Officers of their own country was both more in their own power, and would serve them with the more zeal, since they themselves had such an interest in the success. And so he was against their hiring foreigners, unless it was to be common soldiers to save their own people. But he did not enough consider the phlegm and covetousness of his countrymen; of which he felt the ill effects afterwards. This was his greatest error; and it turned fatally upon him. But for the administration of justice at home, and for the management of their trade and their forces by sea, he was the ablest Minister they ever had. He had an hereditary hatred to the House of *Orange*. He thought it was impossible to maintain their liberty, if they were still Stat-holders. Therefore he did all that was possible to put an invincible bar in their way, by the perpetual edict. But at the same time he took great care of preserving the young Prince's fortune; and looked well to his education; and gave him, as the Prince himself told me, very just notions of every thing relating to their State. For he did not know, but that at some time

or

or other he would be set over them: Therefore he intended to render him fit to govern well.

1665.

THE Town of *Amsterdam* became at that time very ungovernable. It was thought, that the *West-India-Company* had been given up chiefly by their means; for it was in value so equal to the *East-India-Company*, that their actions were often exchanged for one another. When the Bishop of *Munster* began his pretensions on the City of *Munster*, and on a great part of *Westphalia*, they offered themselves up to the States, if they would preserve them. But the Town of *Amsterdam* would not consent to it, nor submit to the charge. Yet they never seemed to set up for a superiority over the rest, nor to break the credit of the Court at the *Hague*. Only they were backward in every thing that was proposed, that encreased the charge. And they were become so weary of *De Wit*, that he felt how much the late miscarriage at sea had shaken his credit; since misfortunes are always imputed to the errors of those that govern. So he resolved to go on board. *De Ruyter* often said, that he was amazed to see how soon he came to a perfect understanding of all the sea affairs. The winds were so long backward, that it was not easy to get their great ships thro' the *Zuyder* sea. So he went out in boats himself, and plummed it all so carefully, that he found many more ways to get out by different winds, than was thought formerly practicable. He got out in time to be master of the sea, before the end of the season: And so recovered the affront of the



1665.

the former losses, by keeping at sea after the *English* fleet was forced to put in. The Earl of *Sandwich* was sent to the North with a great part of the fleet, to lie for the *Dutch East-India* ships. But he was thought too remiss. They got, before he was aware of it, into *Berghen* in *Norway*. If he had followed them quick, he would have forced the port, and taken them all. But he observed forms, and sent to the Viceroy of *Norway* demanding entrance. That was denied him. But, while these messages went backward & forward, the *Dutch* had so fortified the entrance into the port, that, tho' it was attempted with great courage, yet *Tiddiman*, and those who composed that squadron, were beat off with great loss, and forced to let go a very rich fleet: For which Lord *Sandwich* was much blamed, tho' he was sent Ambassador into *Spain*, that his disgrace might be a little softened by that employment. The Duke's conduct was also much blamed: And it was said, he was most in fault, but that the Earl of *Sandwich* was made the sacrifice.

An account  
unt of the  
affairs of  
*Berghen*.

HERE I will add a particular relation of a transaction relating to that affair, taken from the account given of it by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, then the King's Envoy at the Court of *Denmark*, in a MS. that I have in my hands. That King did in *June* 1665 open himself very freely to *Talbot*, complaining of the States, who, as he said, had drawn the *Swedish* war on him on design that he might be forced to depend on them for supplies of money and shipping, and so to get the customs of *Norway* and the *Sound* into their hands for their security. *Talbot* upon that told him, that the *Dutch Smyrna* fleet was now in *Berghen*, be-  
fides

1665.

sides many rich *West-India* ships; and that they  
staid there in expectation of a double *East-India*  
fleet, and of *De Ruyter*, who was returning  
with the spoils of the coast of *Guinea*. So he  
said, the King of *Denmark* might seize those  
ships before the convoy came, which they ex-  
pected. The King of *Denmark* said, he had  
not strength to execute that. *Talbot* said, the  
King his master would send a force to effect it:  
But it was reasonable he should have half of  
the spoil. To which the King of *Denmark*  
readily agreed, and ordered him to propose it  
to his master. So he immediately transmit-  
ted it to the King, who approved of it, and  
promised to send a fleet to put it in execution.  
The Ministers of *Denmark* were appointed to  
concert the matter with *Talbot*. But nothing  
was put in writing; for the King of *Denmark*  
was ashamed to treat of such an affair, other-  
wise than by word of mouth. Before the end of  
July news came that *De Ruyter* with the *East-*  
*India* Fleet was on the coast of *Norway*. Soon  
after he came into *Berghen*. The riches then in  
that port were reckoned at many millions.

The Earl of *Sandwich* was then in those seas.  
So *Talbot* sent a vessel express to him with the  
news: But that vessel fell into the hands of the  
*Dutch* Fleet, and was sent to *Holland*. The  
King of *Denmark* writ to the Viceroy of *Nor-*  
*way*, and to the Governour of *Berghen*, orde-  
ring them to use all fair means to keep the  
*Dutch* still in their harbour, promising to send  
particular instructions in a few days to them  
how to proceed. *Talbot* sent letters with these,  
to be delivered secretly to the Commanders  
of the *English* frigats, to let them know that  
they

1665.

they might boldly assault the *Dutch* in port: for the *Danes* would make no resistance, pretending a fear that the *English* might destroy their Town: But that an account was to be kept of their prizes, that the King of *Denmark* might have a just half of all. They were not to be surprized, if the *Danes* seemed at first to talk high: That was to be done for shew: But they would grow calmer, when they came to engage. The Earl of *Sandwich* sent his Secretary to *Talbot*, to know the particulars of the agreement with the King of *Denmark*. But the vessel that brought him was ordered, upon landing the Secretary, to come back to the fleet. So that it was impossible to send by that vessel what was desired. And no other ship could be got to carry back the Secretary. And thus the Earl of *Sandwich* went to attack the *Dutch* Fleet without staying for an answer from *Talbot*, or knowing what orders the Governour of *Berghen* had yet received: For tho' the orders were sent, yet it was so great a way, ten or twelve days journey, that they could not reach the place, but after the *English* fleet had made the attack. The Viceroy of *Norway*, who resided at *Christiana*, had his orders sooner, and sent out two gallies to communicate the agreement to the Earl of *Sandwich*; but missed him, for he was then before *Berghen*. The Governour of *Berghen*, not having yet the orders that the former express promised him, sent a Gentleman to the *English* fleet, desiring they would make no attack for two or three days; for by that time he expected his orders. *Clifford* was sent to the Governour, who insisted that till he had orders



orders he must defend the port, but that he expected them in a very little time. Upon *Clifford's* going back to the fleet, a Council of war was called, in which the Officers, animated with the hope of a rich booty, resolved without farther delay to attack the port, either doubting the sincerity of the *Danish* Court, or unwilling to give them so large a share of that, on which they reckoned as already their prize. Upon this *Tiddiman* began the attack, which ended fatally. Diverse frigats were disabled, and many Officers and and seamen were killed. The Squadron was thus ruined, and *Tiddiman* was ready to sink: So he was forced to slip his cables, and retire to the fleet, which lay without the rocks. This action was on the third of *August*: And on the fourth the Governour received his orders. So he sent for *Clifford*, and shewed him his orders. But, as the *English* fleet had by their precipitation forced him to do what he had done, so he could not upon what had happened the day before, execute those orders, till he had sent an account of what had pass'd to the Court of *Denmark*, and had the King's second orders upon it. And, if the whole *English* fleet would not stay in those seas so long, he desired they would leave six frigats before the harbour; and he would engage, the *Dutch* should not in the mean while go out to sea. But the *English* were sullen upon their disappointment, and sailed away. The King of *Denmark* was unspeakably troubled at the loss of the greatest treasure he was ever like to have in his hands. This was a design well laid that would have been as fatal to the *Dutch*, as

1665.

The Parli-  
ament at  
Oxford.

ignominious to the King of *Denmark*, and was by the impatient ravenousness of the *English* lost, without possibility of recovering it. And indeed there was not one good step made after this in the whole progress of the war.

ENGLAND was at this time in a dismal state. The plague continued for the most part of the summer in and about *London*, and began to spread over the country. The Earl of *Clarendon* moved the King to go to *Salisbury*. But the Plague broke out there: So the Court went to *Oxford*, where another session of Parliament was held. And tho' the conduct at sea was severely reflected on, yet all that was necessary for carrying on the war another year was given. The House of Commons kept up the ill humour they were in against the Non-conformists very high. A great many of the Ministers of *London* were driven away by the Plague; tho' some few staid. Many Churches being shut up, when the inhabitants were in a more than ordinary disposition to profit by good sermons; some of the Non-conformists upon that went into the empty pulpits, and preached; and, it was given out, with very good success: And in many other places they began to preach openly, not without reflecting on the sins of the Court, and on the ill usage that they themselves had met with. This was represented very odiously at *Oxford*. So a severe bill was brought in, requiring all the silenced Ministers to take an oath, declaring it was not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King, or any commissioned by him, and that they would not at any time endeavour an alteration in the govern-  
ment

ment of the Church or State. Such as refused this were not to come within five miles of any City, or Parliament Borough, or of the Church where they had served. This was much opposed in both Houses, but more faintly in the House of Commons. The Earl of *Southampton* spoke vehemently against it in the House of Lords. He said, he could take no such oath himself; for how firm soever he had always been to the Church, yet, as things were managed, he did not know but he himself might see cause to endeavour an alteration. Doctor *Earl*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, died at that time. But, before his death, he declared himself much against this Act. He was the man of all the Clergy for whom the King had the greatest esteem. He had been his sub-tutor, and had followed him in all his exile, with so clear a character, that the King could never see or hear of any one thing amiss in him. So he, who had a secret pleasure in finding out any thing that lessened a man esteemed eminent for piety, yet had a value for him beyond all the men of his order. *Sheldon* and *Ward* were the Bishops that acted and argued most for this Act, which came to be called the Five Mile Act. All that were the secret favourers of Popery promoted it: Their constant maxim being, to bring all the Sectaries into so desperate a state, that they should be at mercy, and forced to desire a toleration on such terms, as the King should think fit to grant it on. *Clifford* began to make a great figure in the House of Commons. He was the son of a Clergy-man, born to a small fortune: But was a man of great vivacity. He was reconciled

1665.

The five mile Act.

Dr. *Earl*,  
Bishop of  
*Sarum*.



1665

to the Church of *Rome* before the Restoration. The Lord *Clarendon* had many spies among the Priests: And the news of this was brought him among other things. So, when *Clifford* began first to appear in the House, he got one to recommend him to the Lord *Clarendon's* favour. The Lord *Clarendon* looked into the advice that was brought him: And by comparing things together, he perceived that he must be that man: And upon that he excused himself the best he could. So *Clifford* struck in with his enemies; and tied himself particularly to *Bennet*, made Lord, and afterwards Earl of *Arlington*. While the Act was before the House of Commons, *Vaughan*, afterwards made Chief Justice of the Common-pleas, moved that the word *legally* might be added to the word *commissioned by the King*: But *Finch*, then Attorney General, said, that was needless: since unless the commission was legal it was no commission, and to make it legal, it must be issued out for a lawful occasion, and to persons capable of it, and must pass in the due form of law. The other insisted that the addition would clear all scruples, & procure an universal compliance. But that could not be obtained; for it was intended to lay difficulties in the way of those against whom the Act was levelled. When the Bill came up to the Lords, the Earl of *Southampton* moved for the same addition; but was answered by the Earl of *Anglesey*, upon the same grounds on which *Finch* went. Yet this gave great satisfaction to many who heard of it, this being the avowed sense of the legislators. The whole matter was so explained by

*Bridge*

1665.

*Bridgman*, when *Bates* with a great many more came into the Court of Common-pleas to take the oath. The Act pass'd: And the Nonconformists were put to great straits. They had no mind to take the oath: And they scarce knew how to dispose of themselves according to the terms of the Act. Some moderate men took pains to persuade them to take the oath. It was said by *endeavour* was only meant an unlawful endeavour; and that it was so declared in the debates in both Houses. Some Judges did on the bench expound it in that sense. Yet few of them took it. Many more refused it, who were put to hard shifts to live, being so far separated from the places from which they drew their chief subsistence. Yet as all this severity in a time of War, and of such a public calamity, drew very hard censures on the promoters of it, so it raised the compassions of their party so much, that I have been told they were supplied more plentifully at that time than ever. There was better reason, than perhaps those of *Oxford* knew, to suspect practices against the State.

*Algernon Sidney*, and some others of the Common-wealth party, came to *De Wit*, and press'd him to think of an invasion of *England* and *Scotland*, and gave him great assurances of a strong party: And they were bringing many Officers to *Holland* to join in the undertaking. They dealt also with some in *Amsterdam*, who were particularly sharpened against the King, and were for turning *England* again into a Common-wealth. The matter was for some time in agitation at the *Hague*. But *De Wit*

1665. was against it, and got it to be laid aside. He said, their going into such a design would provoke *France* to turn against them: It might engage them in a long War, the consequences of which could not be foreseen: And, as there was no reason to think, that, while the Parliament was so firm to the King, any contents could be carried so far as to a general rising, which these men undertook for; so, he said, what would the effect be of turning *England* into a Common-wealth, if it could possibly be brought about, but the ruine of *Holland*? It would naturally draw many of the *Dutch* to leave their country, that could not be kept and maintained but at a vast charge, and to exchange that for the plenty and security that *England* afforded. Therefore all that he would engage in was, to weaken the trade of *England*, and to destroy their fleet; in which he succeeded the following year beyond all expectation. The busy men in *Scotland*, being encouraged from *Rotterdam*, went about the country, to try if any men of weight would set themselves at the head of their designs for an insurrection. The Earl of *Cassilis* and *Lockhart* were the two persons they resolved to try: But they did it at so great a distance, that, from the proposition made to them, there was no danger of misprision of treason. Lord *Cassilis* had given his word to the King, that he would never engage in any plots: And he had got under the King's hand a promise, that he and his family should not be disturbed, let him serve God in what way he pleased. So he did not suffer them to come so far as to make him  
any

The designs  
of the  
Common-  
wealth  
party.

any p  
seeing  
in the  
gave c  
upon  
caball  
of wh  
A M  
too i  
menti  
were  
Duke  
anoth  
to sta  
confic  
have  
the c  
Duch  
which  
there  
quali  
ces v  
to lo  
was  
resol  
pract  
perfo  
on,  
mean  
over  
think  
She  
tho'  
Sacr  
what

† M



any propositions. *Lockhart* did the same. They seeing no other person that had credit enough in the country to bring the people about him, gave over all their projects for that year. But, upon the informations that the King had of their caballing at *Rotterdam*, he raised those troops of which mention was formerly made. 1665.

AN accident happened this winter at *Oxford*, too inconsiderable, and too tender to be mentioned, if it were not that great effects were believed to have followed on it. The Duke had always one private amour after another, in the managing of which he seemed to stand more in awe of the Duchess, than, considering the inequality of their rank, could have been imagined. *Talbot* was looked on as the chief manager of those intrigues. The Duchess's deportment was unexceptionable, which made her authority the greater. At *Oxford* there was then a very graceful young man of quality † that belonged to her Court, whose services were so acceptable, that she was thought to look at him in a particular manner. This was so represented to the Duke, that he, being resolved to emancipate himself into more open practices, took up a jealousy; and put the person out of his Court with so much precipitation, that the thing became very publick by this means. The Duchess lost the power she had over him so entirely, that no method she could think on was like to recover it, except one. She began to discover what his religion was, tho' he still came not only to Church, but to Sacrament. And upon that she, to regain what she had lost, entered into private discourses with

The Duke  
of York's  
jealousy.

Z 4

† *Mt. Sidney*, afterwards Earl of *Rumsey*

1665. with his Priests; but in so secret a manner, that there was not for some years after this the least suspicion given. She began by degrees to slacken in her constant coming to Prayers and to Sacrament, in which she had been before that regular, almost to superstition. She put that on her ill health: For she fell into an ill habit of body, which some imputed to the effect of some of the Duke's distempers communicated to her. A story was set about, and generally believed, that the Earl of *Southesk*, that had married a daughter of Duke *Hamilton's*, suspecting some familiarities between the Duke and his wife, had taken a sure method to procure a disease to himself, which he communicated to his wife, and was by that means set round till it came to the Duchess, who was so tainted with it that it was the occasion of the death of all her children, except the two daughters, our two Queens; and was believed the cause of an illness under which she languished long, and died so corrupted, that in dressing her body after her death, one of her breasts burst, being a mass of corruption. Lord *Southesk* was for some years not ill pleased to have this believed. It looked like a peculiar strain of revenge, with which he seemed much delighted. But I know he has to some of his friends denied the whole of the story very solemnly. Another acted a better part. He did not like a commerce that he observed between the Duke and his wife. He went and expostulated with him upon it. The Duke fell a commending his wife much. He told him, he came not to seek his wife's character from him: The most effectual way of

His amours

of commending her, was to have nothing to do with her. He added, that if Princes would do those wrongs to subjects, who could not demand such reparations of honour as they could from their equals, it would put them on secreter methods of revenge: For some injuries were such, that men of honour could not bear them. And, upon a new observation he made of the Duk's designs upon his wife, he quitted a very good post, and went with her into the country, where he kept her till she died. Upon the whole matter the Duke was often ill. The children were born with ulcers, or they broke out upon them soon after: And all his sons died young, and unhealthy. This has, as far as any thing that could not be brought in the way of proof, prevailed to create a suspicion, that so healthy a child as the pretended Prince of *Wales* could neither be his, nor be born of any wife with whom he had lived long. The violent pain that his eldest daughter had in her eyes, and the gout which has early seized our present Queen, are thought the dregs of a tainted original *Willis*, the great Phylician, being called to consult for one of his sons, gave his opinion in those words, *mala stamina vita*, which gave such offence, that he was never called for afterwards.

I know nothing of the counsels of the year 1666. nor whose advices prevailed. It was resolved that the Duke should not go to sea; but that *Monk* should command the great fleet of between fifty & sixty ships of the line, and that Prince *Rupert* should be sent with a squadron of

Z 5

about

1665.

1666.



378 The HISTORY of the Reign

1666.

The fleet  
almost  
lost was  
saved by  
Prince  
Rupert.

about twenty five ships to meet the *French* fleet, and to hinder their conjunction with the *Dutch*. For the *French* had promised a fleet to join the *Dutch*, but never sent it. *Monk* went out so certain of victory, that he seemed only concerned for fear the *Dutch* should not come out. The Court flattered themselves with the hopes of a very happy year: But it proved a fatal one. The *Dutch* fleet came out, *De Wit* and some of the States being on board. They engaged the *English* fleet for two days, in which they had a manifest superiority. But it cost them dear; for the *English* fought well. But the *Dutch* were superiour in number, and were so well furnished with chained shot, (a peculiar contrivance of which *De Wit* had the honour to be thought the inventor) that the *English* fleet was quite unrigged; and they were in no condition to work themselves off. So they must have all been taken, sunk, or burnt, if Prince *Rupert*, being yet in the Channel, and hearing that they were engaged by the continued roaring of guns, had not made all possible haste to get to them. He came in good time. And the *Dutch*, who had suffered much, seeing so great a force come up, steered off. He was in no condition to pursue them; but brought off our fleet, which saved us a great loss that seemed otherwise unavoidable. The Court gave out that it was a victory: And publick thanksgivings were ordered, which was a horrid mocking of God, and a lying to the world. We had in one respect reason to thank God, that we had not lost our whole fleet. But to compleat the miseries of this year: The

Plague

Plague was so sunk in *London*, that the inhabitants began to return to it, and brought with them a great deal of manufacture, which was lying on the hands of the clothiers and others, now in the second year of the War, in which trade and all other consumptions were very low. It was reckoned, that a peace must come next winter. The merchants were upon that preparing to go to market as soon as possible. The summer had been the dryest that was known of some years. And *London* being for the most part built of timber filled up with plaister, all was extream dry. On the second of *September* a fire broke out, that raged for three days, as if it had a commission to devour every thing that was in its way. On the fourth day it stopt in the midst of very combustible matter.

1666.

The fire  
of *London*

I will not enlarge on the extent nor the destruction made by the fire: Many books are full of it. That which is still a great secret is, whether it was casual, or raised on design. The *English* fleet had landed on the *Vly*, an island lying near the *Texel*, and had burnt it: Upon which some came to *De Wit*, and offered a revenge, that, if they were assisted, they would set *London* on fire. He rejected the proposition: For he said, he would not make the breach wider, nor the quarrel irreconcilable. He said, it was brought him by one of the *Labadists*, as sent to them by some others. He made no farther reflections on the matter till the City was burnt. Then he began to suspect there had been a design, and they had intended to draw him into it, and

1666. and to lay the odium of it upon the *Dutch*. But he could hear no news of those who had sent that proposition to him. In the *April* before, some Common-wealths-men were found in a plot, and hanged; who at their execution confessed, they had been spoken to, to assist in a design of burning *London* on the second of *September*. This was printed in the gazette of that week, which I my self read. Now the fire breaking out on the second, made all people conclude, that there was a design some time before on foot for doing it.

It was  
charged on  
the Papists.

The Papists were generally charged with it. One *Hubert*, a *French* Papist, was seized on in *Essex*, as he was getting out of the way in great confusion. He confessed, he had begun the fire, and persisted in his confession to his death; for he was hanged upon no other evidence but that of his own confession. It is true, he gave so broken an account of the whole matter, that he was thought mad. Yet he was blindfolded, and carried to several places of the City: And then, his eyes being opened, he was asked, if that was the place: And being carried to wrong places, after he looked round about for some time, he said, that was not the place: But when he was brought to the place where it first broke out, he affirmed that was the true place. And *Willson* told me, that *Howell*, then the Recorder of *London*, was with him, and had much discourse with him; and that he concluded, it was impossible that it could be a melancholy dream. The horror of the fact, and the terror of death, and perhaps some engagements



in confession, might put him in such disorder, that it was not possible to draw a clear account of any thing from him, but of what related to himself. *Tillotson*, who believed that the City was burnt on design, told me a circumstance that made the Papists employing such a crazed man in such a service more credible. *Langhorn*, the Popish Counsellor at law, who for many years pass'd for a Protestant, was dispatching a half-witted man to manage elections in *Kent* before the Restoration. *Tillotson*, being present, and observing what a sort of man he was, asked *Langhorn*, how he could employ him in such services. *Langhorn* answered, it was a maxim with him in dangerous services to employ none but half-witted men, if they could be but secret and obey orders: For if they should change their minds, and turn informers instead of agents, it would be easy to discredit them, and to carry off the weight of any discoveries they could make, by shewing they were mad-men, and so not like to be trusted in critical things.

The most extraordinary passage, tho' it is but a presumption, was told me by Doctor *Lloyd* and the Countess of *Clarendon*. The latter had a great estate in the new river that is brought from *Ware* to *London*, which is brought together at *Islington*, where there is a great room full of pipes that convey it thro' all the streets of *London*. The constant order of that matter was, to set the pipes a running on *Saturday* night, that so the cisterns might be all full by *Sunday* morning, there being a more than ordinary consumption of water on that

1666.

A strong  
presumption  
on of it.

1666.

that day. There was one *Grant*, a Papi, under whose name Sir *William Petty* published his observations on the bills of mortality: He had some time before applied himself to *Lloyd*, who had great credit with the Countess of *Clarendon*; and said, he could raise that estate considerably, if she would make him a Trustee for her. His schemes were probable; and he was made one of the board that governed that matter: And by that he had a right to come, as oft as he pleased, to view their works at *Islington*. He went thither the *Saturday* before the fire broke out, and calling for the key of the place where the heads of the pipes were, he turned all the cocks that were then open, and stopt the water, and then went away, & carried the keys with him. So when the fire broke out next morning, they opened the pipes in the streets to find water, but there was none. And some hours were lost in sending to *Islington*; where the door was to be broke open, and the cocks turned. And it was long before the water got to *London*. *Grant* indeed denied that he had turned the cocks. But the Officer of the works affirmed, that he had, according to order, set them all a running, and that no person had got the keys from him, besides *Grant*; who confessed he had carried away the keys, but pretended he did it without design. There were many other stories set about, as that the Papists in several places had asked, if there was no news of the burning of *London*, and that it was talked of in many parts beyond sea, long before the news could get thither from *London*. In this matter I was much

much determined by what Sir *Thomas Littleton*, the father, told me. He was a man of a strong head, sound judgment. He had just as much knowledge in trade, history, the disposition of *Euorpe*, and the constitution of *England*, as served to feed and direct his own thoughts, and no more. He lived all the summer long in *London*, where I was his next neighbour, and had for seven years a constant and daily conversation with him. He was Treasurer of the Navy in conjunction with *Osborn*, who was afterwards Lord Treasurer, who supplanted him in that post, and got it all into his own hands. He had a very bad opinion of the King; and thought, that he had worse intentions than his brother, but that he had a more dextrous way of covering and managing them; only his laziness made him less earnest in prosecuting them. He had generally the character of the ablest Parliament man in his time. His chief estate lay in the City, not far from the place where the fire broke out, tho' it did not turn that way. He was one of the Committee of the House of Commons, that examined all the presumptions of the City's being burnt on design: And he often assured me, that there was no clear presumption made out about it; and that many stories, which were published with good assurance, came to nothing upon a strict examination. He was at that time, that the inquiry was made, in employment at Court. So, whether that biassed him, or not, I cannot tell. There was so great a diversity of opinions in the matter, that I must leave it under the same uncertainty in which I found it.

1666.

Yet left  
uncertain.



1666. it. If the *French* and *Dutch* had been at that time designing an impression elsewhere, it might have been more reasonable to suppose it was done on design to distract our affairs. But it fell out at a dead time, when no advantage could be made of it. And it did not seem probable, that the Papists had engaged in the design, merely to impoverish and ruine the Nation; for they had nothing ready then to graft upon the confusion that this put all the people in. Above twelve thousand houses were burnt down, with the greatest part of the furniture and merchandize that was in them. All means used to stop it proved ineffectual; tho' the blowing up of houses was the most effectual of any. But the wind was so high, that fleaks of fire and burning matter were carried in the air cross several streets. So that the fire spread not only in the next neighbourhood, but at a great distance. The King and the Duke were almost all the day long on horseback with the guards, seeing to all that could be done, either for quenching the fire, or for carrying off persons and goods to the fields all about *London*. The most astonishing circumstance of that dreadful conflagration was that notwithstanding the great destruction that was made, and the great confusion in the streets, I could never hear of any one person that was either burnt, or trodden to death. The King was never observed to be so much struck with any thing in his whole life, as with this. But the citizens were not so well satisfied with the Duke's behaviour. They thought he looked too gay, and too little concerned. A jealousy of his

his being concerned in it was spread about with great industry, but with very little appearance of truth. Yet it grew to be generally believed, chiefly after he owned he was a Papist. 1666.

In *Scotland* the fermentation went very high. *Turner* was sent again into the West in *October* this year: And he began to treat the country at the old rate. The people were alarmed, and saw they were to be undone. They met together, and talked with some fiery Ministers. *Semple*, *Maxwell*, *Welsh*, and *Guthrie* were the chief incendiaries. Two Gentlemen that had served in the wars, one a Lieutenant Colonel, *Wallace*, and the other that had been a Major, *Learmonth*, were the best Officers they had to rely on. The chief Gentlemen of those Counties were all clapt up in prison, as was formerly told. So that preserved them: Otherwise they must either have engaged with the people, or have lost their interest among them. The people were told, that the fire of *London* had put things in that confusion at Court, that any vigorous attempt would disorder all the King's affairs. If the new levied troops had not stood in their way, they would have been able to have carried all things against them: For the two troops of guards with the regiment of foot guards would not have been able to have kept their ground before them. The people, as some of them told me afterwards, were made to believe that the whole Nation was in the same disposition. So on the thirteenth of *November* they ran together: And two hundred of them went to *Dunfreis*, where *Turner* then lay with a few soldiers about him; the greatest part of his men being then out in parties for the levying of fines. So they surprised him

Disorders  
in *Scotland*.

A a

before

1666. before he could get to his arms: Otherwise, he told me, he would have been killed rather than taken, since he expected no mercy from them. With himself they seized his papers and instructions, by which it appeared he had been gentler than his orders were. So they resolved to keep him, and exchange him as occasion should be offered. But they did not tell him what they intended to do with him: So he thought they were keeping him, till they might hang him up with the more solemnity. There was a considerable cash in his hands, partly for the pay of his men, partly of the fines which he had raised in the country, that was seized: But he to whom they trusted the keeping of it, ran away with it. They spread a report, which they have since printed, and it passed for some time current, that this rising was the effect of a sudden heat, that the country was put in by seeing one of their neighbours tied on a horse hand and foot, and carried away, only because he could not pay a high fine that was set upon him; and that upon this provocation the neighbours, who did not know how soon such usage would fall to their own turn, ran together, and rescued him; and that, fearing some severe usage for it, they kept together, and then, others coming into them, they went on, and seized *Turner*. But this was thought a story made only to beget compassion; For, after the insurrection was quash'd, the Privy Council sent some round the country, to examine the violences that had been committed, particularly in the parish where it was given out that this was done. I read the report they made to the Council, and all the depositions that the people



people of the country made before them: But this 1666.  
was not mentioned in any one of them.

THE news of this rising was brought to *Eden-* A rebel-  
*burgh*, fame encreasing their numbers to some lion in the  
thousands. And this happening to be near *Carlile*, West.  
the Governour of that place sent an exprefs to  
Court, in which the strength of the party was ma-  
gnified much beyond the truth. The Earl of *Ro-*  
*thes* was then at Court, who had assured the King,  
that all things were so well managed in *Scotland*,  
that they were in perfect quiet. There were, he  
said, some stubborn Fanaticks still left, that would  
be soon subdued: But there was no danger from  
any thing that they or their party could do. He  
gave no credit to the exprefs from *Carlile*: But,  
two days after, the news was confirmed by an ex-  
press from *Scotland*. *Sharp* was then at the head  
of the government: So he managed this little war,  
and gave all the orders and directions in it. *Dal-*  
*ziel* was commanded to draw all the troops they  
had together, which lay then dispersed in quarters.  
When that was done, he marched westward. A  
great many ran to the Rebels, who came to be  
called Whiggs. At *Lanerick* in *Cliddisdale* they  
had a solemn fast day, in which after much praying  
they renewed the Covenant, and set out their Ma-  
nifesto: In which they denied that they rose a-  
gainst the King; they complained of the oppression  
under which they had groaned; they desired that  
Episcopacy might be put down, and that Pres-  
bytery, and the Covenant, might be set up, and  
their Ministers restored again to them; and then  
they promised, that they would be in all other  
things the King's most obedient subjects. The

1666. Earl of *Argyle* raised fifteen hundred men, and wrote to the Council that he was ready to march upon order. *Sharp* thought, that if he came into the country, either he or his men would certainly join with the Rebels: So he sent him no orders at all; and he was at the charge of keeping his men together to no purpose. *Sharp* was all the while in a dreadful consternation, and wrote dismal letters to Court, praying that the forces which lay in the North of *England* might be ordered down: For, he wrote, they were surrounded with the Rebels, and did not know what was become of the King's forces. He also moved, that the Council would go, and shut themselves up in the Castle of *Edenburgh*. But that was opposed by the rest of the board, as an abandoning of the Town, and the betraying an unbecoming fear, which might very much encourage the Rebels, and such as intended to go over to them. Orders were given out for raising the country: But there was no militia yet formed. In the mean while *Dalziel* followed the Rebels as close as he could. He published a proclamation of pardon, as he was ordered, to all that should in twenty four hours time return to their houses, and declared all that continued any longer in arms Rebels. He found the country was so well affected towards them, that he could get no sort of intelligence, but what his own parties brought in to him. The Whiggs marched towards *Edenburgh*, and came within two miles of the Town. But finding neither Town nor Country declare for them, and that all the hopes their leaders had given them proved false, they lost heart. From being once above two thousand they were  
now

now  
dred.  
where  
and v  
selves.  
The i  
ties, p  
brethr  
compa  
togeth  
they h  
disper  
march  
were  
had.  
was fa  
could  
but on  
out of  
Novem  
up to  
hill: S  
They,  
march  
preach  
And th  
eighth  
forces.  
given b  
put the  
for im  
their li  
killed  
taken.

1666.

now come to be not above eight or nine hundred: So they resolved to return back to the West where they knew the people were of their side; and where they could more easily disperse themselves, and get either into *England* or *Ireland*. The Ministers were very busy in all those Countries, plying people of rank not to forsake their brethren in this extremity. And they had got a company of about three or fourscore Gentlemen together, who were marching towards them, when they heard of their defeat: And upon that they dispersed themselves. The Rebels thought to have marched back by the way of *Pentland Hill*. They were not much concerned for the few horses they had. And they knew that *Dalziel*, whose horse was fatigued with a fortnight's constant march, could not follow them. And if they had gained but one night more in their march, they had got out of his reach. But on the twenty eighth of *November*, about an hour before sun set, he came up to them. They were posted on the top of a hill: So he engaged with a great disadvantage. They, finding they could not get off, stopt their march. Their Ministers did all they could by preaching and praying to infuse courage into them: And they sung the seventy fourth and the seventy eighth Psalms. And so they turned on the King's forces. They received the first charge that was given by the troop of guards very resolutely, and put them in disorder. But that was all the action; for immediately they lost all order, and ran for their lives. It was now dark: About forty were killed on the spot, and a hundred and thirty were taken. The rest were favoured by the darkness

The defeat  
given the  
rebels at  
*Pentland*  
*Hill*.



1666. of the night, and the weariness of the King's troops that were not in case to pursue them, and had no great heart to it: For they were a poor harmless company of men, become mad by oppression: And they had taken nothing during all the time they had been together, but what had been freely given them by the country people. The rebellion was broken with the loss of only five on the King's side. The General came next day into *Edenburgh* with his prisoners.

Severe  
proceedings  
against the  
prisoners.

The two Archbishops were now delivered out of all their fears: And the common observation, that cruelty and cowardise go together, was too visibly verified on this occasion. Lord *Rothes* came down full of rage: And that being inflamed by the two Archbishops, he resolved to proceed with the utmost severity against the prisoners. *Burnet* advised the hanging of all those who would not renounce the Covenant, and promise to conform to the laws for the future: But that was thought too severe. Yet he was sent up to *London*, to procure of the King an instruction, that they should tender the Declaration renouncing the Covenant to all who were thought disaffected, and proceed against those who refused that, as against seditious persons. The best of the Episcopal Clergy set upon the Bishops, to lay hold on this opportunity for regaining the affections of the country, by becoming intercessors for the prisoners, and for the country, that was like to be quartered on and eat up for the favour they had expressed to them. Many of the Bishops went into this, and particularly *Wishart* of *Edenburgh*, tho' a rough man, and sharpened by ill usage. Yet upon this occasion he

he expressed a very Christian temper, such as became one who had felt what the rigours of a prison had been; for he sent every day very liberal supplies to the prisoners: Which was indeed done by the whole Town, in so bountiful a manner, that many of them, who being shut up & having neither air nor exercise, were in greater danger by their plenty, than they had been by all their unhappy campaign. But *Sharp* could not be mollified. On the contrary he encouraged the Ministers in the disaffected Counties to bring in all the informations they could gather, both against the prisoners, and against all those who had been among them, that they might be sought for, and proceeded against. Most of those got over to *Ireland*. But the Ministers in those parts acted so ill a part, so unbecoming their characters, that the aversion of the country to them was increased to all possible degrees: They looked on them now as wolves, and not as shepherds. It was a moving sight, to see ten of the prisoners hanged upon one gibbet at *Edinburgh*: Thirty five more were sent to their countries, and hanged up before their own doors; their Ministers all the while using them hardly, and declaring them damned for their rebellion. They might all have saved their lives, if they would have renounced the Covenant: So they were really a sort of martyrs for it. They did all at their death give their testimony, according to their phrase, to the Covenant, and to all that had been done pursuant to it: And they expressed great joy in their sufferings. Most of them were but mean and inconsiderable men in all respects: Yet even these were firm and inflexible in their

1666.

persuasions. Many of them escaped, notwithstanding the great search was made for them. *Guthry* the chief of their Preachers was hid in my mother's house, who was bred to her brother *Wariston's* principles, and could never be moved from them: He died next spring. One *Maccail*, that was only a probationer Preacher, and who had been Chaplain in Sir *James Stewart's* house, had gone from *Edenburgh* to them. It was believed, he was sent by the party in town, and that he knew their correspondents. So he was put to the torture, which in *Scotland* they call the boots; for they put a kind of iron boot close on the leg, and drive wedges between this and the leg. The common torture was only to drive these in the calf of the leg: But I have been told they were sometimes driven upon the shin bone. He bore the torture with great constancy: And either he could say nothing, or he had the firmness not to discover those who had trusted him. Every man of them could have saved his own life, if he would accuse any other: But they were all true to their friends. *Maccail*, for all the pains of the torture, died in a rapture of joy: His last words were, „farewel Sun, moon and stars, farewel kindred and „friends, farewel world and time, farewel weak „and frail body; welcome eternity, welcome Angels and Saints, welcome Saviour of the world, „and welcome God the Judge of all: which he spoke with a voice and manner that struck all that heard it.

1667.

The King  
is more  
gentle

HIS death was the more cried out on, because it came to be known afterwards, that *Bur-*  
*net*,



net, who had come down before his execution, had brought with him a letter from the King, in which he approved of all that they had done; but added, that he thought there was blood enough shed, and therefore he ordered that such of the prisoners as should promise to obey the laws for the future should be set at liberty, and that the incorrigible should be sent to Plantations. *Burnet* let the execution go on, before he produced his letter, pretending there was no Council-day between. But he, who knew the contents of it, ought to have moved the Lord *Rothes* to call an extraordinary Council to prevent the execution. So that blood was laid on him. He was, contrary to his natural temper, very violent at that time, much inflamed by his family, and by all about him. Thus this rebellion, that might have been so turned in the conclusion of it, that the Clergy might have gained reputation and honour by a wise and merciful conduct, did now exasperate the country more than ever against the Church. The forces were ordered to lye in the West, where *Dalziel* acted the *Muscovite* too grossly. He threatened to spit men, and to roast them: And he killed some in cold blood, or rather in hot blood; for he was then drunk, when he ordered one to be hanged, because he would not tell where his father was, for whom he was in search. When he heard of any that did not go to Church, he did not trouble himself to set a fine upon him; but he set as many soldiers upon him, as should eat him up in a night. By this means all people were struck with such a terroure, that they came regularly to Church. And the Clergy

1667.

than the  
Bishops.

1667.

were so delighted with it, that they used to speak of that time, as the poets do of the golden age. They never interceded for any compassion to their people; nor did they take care to live more regularly, or to labour more carefully. They looked on the soldiery as their patrons: They were ever in their company, complying with them in their excesses: And if they were not much wronged, they rather led them into them, than check'd them for them. *Dalziel* himself and his Officers were so disgusted with them, that they encreased the complaints, that had now more credit from them, than from those of the country, who were looked on as their enemies. Things of so strange a pitch in vice were told of them, that they seemed scarce credible. The person, whom I believed the best as to all such things, was one *Sir John Cunningham*, an eminent lawyer, who had an estate in the country, and was the most extraordinary man of his profession in that Kingdom. He was Episcopal beyond most men in *Scotland*, who for the far greatest part thought that forms of government were in their own nature indifferent, and might be either good or bad according to the hands in which they fell; whereas he thought Episcopacy was of a divine right, settled by *Christ*. He was not only very learned in the civil and canon laws, and in the philosophical learning, but was very universal in all other learning: He was a great Divine, and well read in the Fathers, and in ecclesiastical history. He was above all, a man of eminent probity, and of a sweet temper, and indeed one of the piousst men of the Nation. The state of the Church in those parts went to his heart:

For

For it was not easy to know how to keep an even hand between the perverseness of the people on the one side, and the vices of the Clergy on the other. They looked on all those that were sensible of their miscarriages, as enemies of the Church. It was after all hard to believe all that was set about against them.

THE King's affairs in *England* forced him to soften his government every where. So at this time the Earls of *Tweeddale* and *Kincardin* went to Court, and laid before the King the ill state the country was in. Sir *Robert Murray* talked often with him about it. Lord *Lauderdale* was more cautious by reason of the jealousy of his being a Presbyterian. Upon all which the King resolved to put *Scotland* into other hands. A Convention of Estates had been called the year before, to raise money for maintaining the troops. This was a very ancient practice in the *Scottish* constitution: A Convention was summoned to meet within twenty days: They could only levy money, and petition for the redress of grievances; but could make no new laws; and meddled only with that for which they were brought together. In the former Convention *Sharp* had presided, being named by the Earl of *Rothes* as the King's Commissioner. In the winter 1666, or rather in the spring 1667, there was another Convention called, in which the King by a special letter appointed Duke *Hamilton* to preside. And the King in a letter to Lord *Rothes* ordered him to write to *Sharp* to stay within his diocese, and to come no more to *Edinburgh*. He upon this was struck with so deep a melancholy, that he shewed as great

1667.

A change of counsel and more moderation in the Government.



1667.

great an abjectness under this slight disgrace, as he had shewed insolence before, when he had more favour. The Convention continued the assessment for another year at 6000 pounds a month. *Sharp*, finding he was now under a cloud, studied to make himself popular by looking after the education of the Marquis of *Huntly*, now the Duke of *Gordon*. He had an order long before from the King to look to his education, that he might be bred a Protestant; for the strength of Popery within that Kingdom lay in his family. But, tho' his was ordered during the Earl of *Middleton's* ministry, *Sharp* had not all this while looked after it. The Earl of *Rothes's* mistress was a Papist, and nearly related to the Marquis of *Huntly*. So *Sharp*, either to make his court the better, or at the Lord *Rothes's* desire, had neglected it these four years: But now he called for him. He was then above 15, well hardened in his prejudices by the loss of so much time. What pains were taken on him, I know not. But, after a trial of some months, *Sharp* said, he saw he was not to be wrought on, and sent him back to his mother. So the interest that Popery had in *Scotland* was believed to be chiefly owing to *Sharp's* compliance with the Earl of *Rothes's* amours. The neglect of his duty in so important a matter was much blamed: But the doing it upon such a motive was reckoned yet more infamous. After the convention was over, Lord *Rothes* sent up *Drummond* to represent to the King the ill affections of the western parts. And, to touch the King in a sensible point, he said, the Covenant stuck so deep in their hearts, that no  
good

1667.

good could be done till that was rooted out. So he proposed, as an expedient, that the King would give the Council a power to require all whom they suspected to renounce the Covenant, and to proceed against such as refused it as traitors. *Drummond* had yet too much of the air of *Russia* about him, tho' not with *Dalziel's* fierceness: He had a great measure of knowledge and learning, and some true impressions of religion: But he thought, that upon such powers granted there would be great dealing in bribes and confiscations. A slight accident happened, which raised a jest that spoiled his errand. The King flung the cover of the letter from *Scotland* into the fire, which was carried up all in a flame, and set the chimney on fire. Upon which it was said, that the *Scotish* letter had fired *Whitehall*: And it was answered, the cover had almost set *Whitehall* on fire, but the contents of it would certainly set *Scotland* all in a flame. It was said, that the law for renouncing the Covenant inferring only a forfeiture of employments to those who refused it, the stretching it so far as was now proposed would be liable to great exception. Yet in compliance with a publick message the instruction was sent down, as it was desired: But by a private letter Lord *Rothes* was ordered to make no use of it, except upon a special command; since the King had only given way to what was desired, to strike terror in the ill affected. The secret of it broke out: So it had no effect, but to make the Lord *Rothes* and his party more odious. *Burnet*, upon *Sharp's* disgrace, grew to be more considered. So he was set up with a proposition of a very extraordinary nature,

1667.

nature, that the western Counties should be cantoned under a special government, and peculiar taxes, together with the quartering of soldiers upon them. It was said, that those Counties put the nation to the charge of keeping up such a force: And therefore it seemed reasonable that the charge should lye wholly on them. He also proposed, that a special Council should be appointed to sit at *Glasgow*: And, among other reasons to enforce that motion, he said to the King, and afterwards to Lord *Lauderdale*, that some at the Council board were ill affected to the Church, and favoured her enemies, and that traitors had been pleaded for at that board. Lord *Lauderdale* writ down presently to know what ground there was for this; since, if it was not true, he had *Burnet* at mercy for leasing making, which was more criminal when the whole Council was concerned in the lie that was made. The only ground for this was, that one of the rebels, excepted in the indemnity that was proclaimed some time before, being taken, and it being evident that his brain was turned, it was debated in Council, whether he should be proceeded against, or not: Some argued against that, and said, it would be a reproach to the Government to hang a madman. This could in no sort justify such a charge: So Lord *Lauderdale* resolved to make use of it in due time. The proposition itself was rejected, as that which the King could not do by law. *Burnet* upon this went to the Lord *Clarendon*, and laid before him the sad estate of their affairs in *Scotland*. He spoke to the King of it: And then took care to set the *English* Bishops on the King, with whom  
*Burnet*



*Burnet* had more credit, as more entirely theirs, than ever *Sharp* had. The Earl of *Clarendon*'s credit was then declining: And it was a clear sign of it, when the King told Lord *Lauderdale* all that he had said to him on *Scotish* affairs; which provoked him extremely. *Burnet* was sent down with good words: But the King was resolved to put the affairs of *Scotland* under another management. Lord *Kincardin* came down in *April*, and told me, that Lord *Rothes* was to be stript of all his places, and to be only Lord Chancellor. The Earl of *Tweeddale* and Sir *Robert Murray* were to have the secret in their hands. He told me, the peace was as good as made: And when that was done, the Army would be disbanded; and things would be managed with more temper, both in Church and State. This was then so great a secret, that neither the Lord *Rothes*, nor the two Archbishops, had the least hint of it. Some time after this Lord *Rothes* went to the North: Upon which an accident happened that hastened his fall.

1667.

THE *Scots* had during the war set out many privateers; and these had brought in many rich prizes. The *Dutch*, being provoked with this, sent *Van Ghendt* with a good fleet into the *Frith*, to burn the coast, and to recover such ships as were in that part. He came into the *Frith* on the first of *May*. If he had at first hung out *English* colours, and attacked *Leith* harbour immediately, which was then full of ships, he might have done what mischief he pleased: For all were secure, and were looking for Sir *Jeremy Smith* with some frigats for the defence of the coast, since the

The *Dutch* fleet came into the *Frith*.

can-  
uliar  
diers  
put  
orce:  
arge  
sed,  
to fit  
force  
wards  
uncil  
d fa-  
been  
writ  
was  
*Bur-*  
more  
erned  
d for  
in the  
efore,  
brain  
ether  
Some  
a re-  
dman.  
o Lord  
time.  
which  
on this  
re him  
. He  
e to set  
whom  
*Burnet*

1667. the King had set out no fleet this year. There had been such a dissipation of treasure, that, for all the money that was given, there was not enough left to set out a fleet. But the Court covered this by saying, the peace was as good as concluded at *Breda*, where the Lord *Hollis* and Sir *William Coventry* were treating about it as Plenipotentiaries: And, tho' no cessation was agreed on, yet they reckoned on it as sure. Upon this, a saying of the Earl of *Northumberland's* was much repeated: When it was said, that the Kings Mistress was like to ruine the Nation, he said, it was she that saved the Nation. While we had a House of Commons that gave all the money that was asked, it was better to have the money squandred away in luxury and prodigality, than to have it saved for worse purposes. *Van Ghendt* did nothing in the *Frieth*; only for some hours he shot against *Bruntisland* without doing any mischief: The country people ran down to the coast, and made a great show. But this was only a faint, to divert the King from that which was chiefly intended: For he sailed out, and joined *de Ruyter*: And so the shameful attack was made upon the river of *Medway*: The chain at the mouth of it, which was then all its security, was broke: And the *Dutch* fleet sailed up to *Chatham*: Of which I shall say no more in this place, but go on with the affairs of *Scotland*.

And went  
to *Chatham*, and  
burnt our  
Fleet.

LORD *Rothes's* being out of the way when the country was in such danger, was severely aggravated by the Lord *Lauderdale*, and did bring on the change somewhat the sooner. In *June* Sir

*Robert*

Robert Murray came down with a letter from the King, superseding Lord Rothes's commission, putting the Treasury in commission, and making Lord Rothes Lord Chancellor. He excused himself from being raised to that post all he could; & desired to continue Lord Treasurer: But he struggled in vain, & was forced to submit at last. Now all was turned to a more sober, and more moderate management. Even Sharp grew meek and humble: And said to my self, it was a great happiness to have to deal with sober and serious men; for Lord Rothes and his crew were perpetually drunk. When the peace of Breda was concluded, the King wrote to the Scottish Council, and communicated that to them; and with that signified, that it was his pleasure that the Army should be disbanded. The Earl of Rothes, Burnet, and all the officers opposed this much. The rebellious disposition of the western Counties was much aggravated: It seemed necessary to govern them by a military power. Several expedients were proposed on the other hand. Instead of renouncing the Covenant, in which they pretended there were many points of religion concerned, a bond was proposed for keeping the peace, and against rising in arms. This seemed the better test; since it secured the publick quiet, and the peace of the Country, which was at present the most necessary: The religious part was to be left to time, and good management. So an indemnity of a more comprehensive nature was proclaimed: And the bond was all the security that was demanded. Many came into the bond: Tho' there were some among them that pretended scruples: For, it was said, peace was a word of a large extent: It might be pretended, that obeying all the laws was implied in it. Yet



1667. the far greater number submitted to this. Those who were disturbed with scruples were a few melancholy inconsiderable persons.

IN order to the disbanding the Army with more security it was proposed, that a County militia should be raised, and trained for securing the publick peace. The two Archbishops did not like this: They said, the Commons, of whom the militia must be composed, being generally ill affected to the Church, this would be a prejudice rather than a security. But, to content them, it was concluded, that in Counties that were ill affected there should be no foot raised, and only some troops of horse. *Burnet* complained openly, that he saw Episcopacy was to be pulled down, and that in such an extremity he could not look on, and be silent. He writ upon these matters a long and sorrowful letter to *Sheldon*: And upon that *Sheldon* writ a very long one to Sir R. *Murray*; which I read, and found more temper and moderation in it, than I could have expected from him. *Murray* had got so far into his confidence, & he seemed to depend so entirely on his sincerity, that no informations against him could work upon *Sheldon*. Upon *Burnet's* carrying things so high, *Sharp* was better used, and was brought again to the Council board, where he began to talk of moderation: And in the debate concerning the disbanding the Army, he said, it was better to expose the Bishops to whatsoever might happen, than to have the Kingdom governed for their sakes by a military power. Yet in private he studied to possess all people with prejudices against the persons then employed, as the enemies of the Church. At that time Lord *Lauderdale* got the King to write to the Privy Council, letting them know that

that he had been informed, traitors had been pleaded for at that board. This was levelled at *Burnet*. The Council in their answer, as they denied the imputation, so they desired to know, who it was that had so aspersed them. *Burnet*, when the letter was offered to him to be signed by him, said, he could not say traitors had never been pleaded for at that board, since he himself had once pleaded for one, and put them in mind of the particular case. After this he saw how much he had exposed himself, and grew tamer. The Army was disbanded: So Lord *Rothes*'s authority as General, as well as his Commission, was now at an end, after it had lasted three years. The pretence of his commission was the preparing matters for a National Synod: Yet in all that time there was not one step made towards one: For the Bishops seemed concerned only for their authority, and their revenues, and took no care of regulating, either the worship, or the discipline. The Earls of *Rothes* and *Tweeddale* went to Court. The former tried what he could do by the Duke of *Monmouth*'s means, who had married his niece: But he was then young, and was engaged in a madramble after pleasure, and minded no business. So Lord *Rothes* saw the necessity of applying himself to Lord *Lauderdale*: And he did dissemble his discontent so dextrously, that he seemed well pleased to be freed from the load of business, that lay so heavy upon him. He moved to have his accounts of the Treasury pass'd, to which great exceptions might have been made; and to have an approbation pass'd under the Great Seal of all he had done while he was the King's Commissioner. Lord *Tweeddale* was against both; and moved, that he should be for some time

1667. kept under the lash: He knew, that, how humble soever he was at that time, he would be no sooner secured from being called to an account for what was pass'd, than he would set up a cabal in opposition to every thing, whereas they were sure of his good behaviour, as long as he continued to be so obnoxious. The King loved Lord *Rothes*: So the Earl of *Lauderdale* consented to all he asked. But they quickly saw good cause to repent of their forwardness.

A great  
change in  
*Lauderdale's*  
temper.

Character of  
Mr. Murray  
& of his  
daughter  
Counsell  
of *Dyffert*.

AT this time a great change happened in the course of the Earl of *Lauderdale's* life, which made the latter part of it very different from what the former had been. Mr. *Murray* of the bedchamber had been Page and whipping boy to King *Charles I.* and had great credit with him, not only in procuring private favours, but in all his counsels. He was well turned for a Court, very insinuating, but very false; and of so revengeful a temper, that rather than any of the counsels given by his enemies should succeed, he would have revealed them, and betrayed both the King and them. It was generally believed, that he had discovered the most important of all his secrets to his enemies. He had one particular quality, that when he was drunk, which was very often, he was upon a most exact reserve, tho' he was pretty open at all other times. He got a warrant to be an Earl, which was signed at *New-Castle*. Yet he got the King to antedate it, as if it had been signed at *Oxford*, to get the precedence of some whom he hated: But he did not pass it under the Great Seal during the King's life; but did it after his death, tho' his warrant, not being pass'd, it died with the King. His eldest daughter, to whom his honour, such as it was, descended,

mar-



1667.

married Sir *Lionel Talmash* of *Suffolk*, a man of a noble family. After her father's death, she took the title of Countess of *Dysert*. She was a woman of great beauty, but of far greater parts. She had a wonderful quickness of apprehension, and an amazing vivacity in conversation. She had studied not only divinity and history, but mathematics & philosophy. She was violent in every thing she set about, a violent friend, but a much more violent enemy. She had a restless ambition, lived at a vast expence, and was ravenously covetous; and would have stuck at nothing by which she might compass her ends. She had been early in a correspondence with Lord *Lauderdale*, that had given occasion to censure. When he was prisoner after *Worcester* fight, she made him believe he was in great danger of his life, and that she saved it by her intrigues with *Cromwell*: Which was not a little taken notice of. *Cromwell* was certainly fond of her, and she took care to entertain him in it; till he, finding what was said upon it, broke it off. Upon the King's Restoration, she thought that Lord *Lauderdale* made not those returns that she expected. They lived for some years at a distance. But upon her husband's death she made up all quarrels: So that Lord *Lauderdale* and she lived so much together, that his Lady was offended at it, and went to *Paris*, where she died about three years after. The Lady *Dysert* came to have so much power over the Lord *Lauderdale*, that it lessened him much in the esteem of all the world; for he delivered himself up to all her humours and passions. All applications were made to her: She took upon her to determine every thing; She sold all places, and was wanting

1667:

in no methods that could bring her money, which she lavished out in a most profuse vanity. As the conceit took her, she made him fall out with all his friends, one after another: With the Earls of *Argile*, *Tweedale*, and *Kincardin*, with Duke *Hamilton*, the Marquis of *Atbol* and Sir *Robert Murray*, who all had their turns in her displeasure, which very quickly drew Lord *Lauderdale's* after it. If after such names it is not a presumption to name my self, I had my share likewise. From that time to the end of his days he became quite another sort of man than he had been in all the former parts of his life. Sir *Robert Murray* had been designed by her father to be her husband, and was long her true friend. She knew his integrity was proof against all attempts. He had been hitherto the Lord *Lauderdale's* chief friend, and main support. He had great esteem paid him, both by the King, and by the whole Court: And he employed it all for the Earl of *Lauderdale's* service. He used great freedom with him at proper times; and was a faithful adviser, and reprove as much as the other could bear it. Lady *Dysert* laid hold on his absence in *Scotland* to make a breach between them. She made Lord *Lauderdale* believe, that *Murray* assumed to himself the praise of all that was done, and was not ill pleased to pass as his Governour. Lord *Lauderdale's* pride was soon fired with those ill impressions.

*Scotland*  
well go-  
verned.

THE government of *Scotland* had now another face. All payments were regularly made. There was an overplus of 10000 *l.* of the revenue saved every year: A magazine of Arms was bought with it: And there were several projects set on foot for the encouragement of trade and manufactures.

Lo<sup>d</sup>

1667.

Lord *Tweeddale* and Sir *Robert Murray* were so entirely united, that, as they never disagreed, so all plied before them. Lord *Tweeddale* was made a Privy Counsellour in *England*: And, his son having married the Earl of *Lauderdale's* only child, they seemed to be inseparably united. When he came down from *London*, he brought a letter from the King to the Council, recommending the concerns of the Church to their care: In particular, he charged them to suppress Conventicles, which began to spread generally thro' the western Counties: For upon the disbanding the Army, the country, being delivered from that terror, did now forsake their Churches, and got their old Ministers to come among them; and they were not wanting in holding Conventicles from place to place. The King wrote also by him a letter to *Sharp*, with his own pen, in which he assured him of his zeal for the Church, and of his favour to himself. Lord *Tweeddale* hoped this would have gained him to his side: But he was deceived in it. *Sharp* quickly returned to his former insolence. Upon the Earl of *Tweeddale's* return, there was a great application to publick business: No vice was in reputation: Justice was impartially administred: And a commission was sent to the western Counties to examine into all the complaints of unjust and illegal oppressions by *Turner*, *Dalziel*, and others. *Turner's* ordres had been seized with himself: And, tho' upon the defeat given the Whiggs he was left by them, so that, beyond all men's expectations, he escaped out of their hands, yet he had nothing to justify himself by. The truth is, this enquiry was chiefly levelled at Lord *Rothes* and *Burnet*, to cast the odium of the late rebellion, on their injustice and



1667.

ill conduct. And it was intended that *Turner* should accuse them: But he had no vouchers to shew. These were believed to be withdrawn by an artifice of the Lord *Rothes*. But, before the matter was quite ended, those in whose hands his papers were left, sent them sealed up to his lodgings. But he was by that time broken: So, since the government had used him hardly, he, who was a man of spirit, would not shew his vouchers, nor expose his friends. So that matter was carried no farther. And the people of the country cried out against those censures. It was said, that when by such violent proceedings men had been inflamed to a rebellion, upon which so much blood was shed, all the reparation given was, that an officer or two were broken; and a great man was taken down a little upon it, without making any publick examples for the deterring others

Great  
com-  
plaints  
made of  
the Clergy:

*Sir Robert Murray* went thro' the west of *Scotland*. When he came back, he told me, the Clergy were such a set of men, so ignorant, and so scandalous, that it was not possible to support them, unless the greatest part of them could be turned out, and better men found to be put in their places. But it was not easy to know how this could be done. *Burnet* had placed them all: And he thought himself in some sort bound to support them. The Clergy were so linked together, that none of them could be got to concur in getting proofs of crimes brought against their brethren. And the people of the country pretended scruples. They said, to accuse a Minister before a Bishop was an acknowledging his jurisdiction over his Clergy, or, to use a hard word much in use among them, it was homologating his power. So *Murray*

pro-

1667.

proposed, that a Court should be constituted by a special commission from the King, made up of some of the Layity as well as the Clergy, to try the truth of these scandalous reports that went upon the Clergy: And he writ about it to *Sheldon*, who approved of it. *Sharp* also seemed well pleased with it, tho' he abhorred it in his heart: For he thought it struck at the root of their authority, and was Erastianism in the highest degree. *Burnet* said, it was a turning him out of his Bishoprick, and the declaring him either incapable of judging his Clergy, or unworthy of that trust. His Clergy cried out upon it; and said, it was a delivering them up to the rage of their enemies, who hated them only for the sake of their functions, and for their obedience to the laws; and that, if irregular methods were taken to encourage them, they would get any thing, true or false, to be sworn against them. The difficulties that arose upon this put a stop to it. And the Earl of *Lauderdale's* aversion to Sir *Robert Murray* began a disjoining of all the counsels of *Scotland*. Lord *Tweeddale* had the chief confidence: And next him Lord *Kincardin* was most trusted. The Presbyterians, seeing a softening in the execution of the law, and observing that the Archbishops were jealous of Lord *Tweeddale*, fancied he was theirs in his heart. Upon that they grew very insolent. The Clergy was in many places ill used by them. They despaired of any farther protection from the Government. They saw designs were forming to turn them all out: And, hearing that they might be better provided in *Ireland*, they were in many places bought out, and prevailed on to desert their cures. The people of the country hoped, that, upon their leaving them, they

1667.

might have their old Ministers again; & upon that were willing enough to enter into those bargains with them: And so in a very little time there were many vacancies made all over those Counties. The Lord *Tweeddale* took great pains to engage *Leighton* into the same counsels with him. He had magnified him highly to the King, as much the greatest man of the *Scottish* Clergy. And the Lord *Tweeddale's* chief aim, with relation to Church matters, was to set him at the head of them: For he often said to me, that more than two parts in three of the whole business of the government related to the Church. So he studied to bring in a set of Episcopal men of another stamp, and to set *Leighton* at their head. He studied to draw in Mr. *Charteris*. But he had such sad thoughts of mankind and such humble ones of himself, that he thought little good could be done, and that as to that little he was not a proper instrument. *Leighton* was prevailed on to go to *London*, where, as he told me, he had two audiences of the King. He laid before him the madness of the former administration of Church affairs, and the necessity of turning to more moderate counsels: In particular, he proposed a comprehension of the Presbyterian party, by altering the terms of the laws a little, and by such abatements as might preserve the whole for the future, by granting somewhat for the present. But he entered into no expedients: Only he studied to fix the King in the design that the course of his affairs led him to, tho' contrary to his own inclinations, both in *England* and *Scotland*. In order to the opening this I must change the scene.

Affairs in  
*England*.

THE *Dutch* war had turned so fatally on the King, that it made it necessary for him to try how

to



1667

to recover the affections and esteem of his people. He found a slackening the execution of the law went a great way in the city of *London*, and with the trading part of the Nation. The House of Commons continued still in their fierceness, and aversion to all moderate propositions: But in the intervals of Parliament the execution was softened. The Earl of *Clarendon* found his credit was declining, that all the secrets of State were trusted to *Bennet*, and that he had no other share in them than his post required. The Lady *Castlemain* set herself most violently against him. And the Duke of *Buckingham*, as often as he was admitted to any familiarities with the King, studied with all his wit and humour to make Lord *Clarendon* and all his counsels appear ridiculous. Lively jests were at all times apt to take with the King. The Earl of *Clarendon* fell under two other misfortunes before the war broke out. The King had granted him a large piece of ground near *St. James's* to build a house on: He intended a good ordinary house: But, not understanding those matters himself, he put the managing of it into the hands of others; who run him into a vast charge, of about 50000*l*, three times as much as he designed to lay out upon it. During the war, & in the plague year, he had about three hundred men at work, which he thought would have been an acceptable thing, when so many men were kept at work, and so much money, as was duly paid, circulated about. But it had a contrary effect. It raised a great outcry against him. Some called it *Dunkirk* house, intimating that it was built by his share of the price of *Dunkirk*. Others called it *Holland* house, because he was believed to be no friend to the war: So it was given out, that he had

*Clarendon's*  
disgrace.

1667. had the money from the *Dutch*. It was visible, that in a time of publick calamity he was building a very noble palace. Another accident was, that before the war there were some designs on foot for the repairing of *St. Pauls*: And many stones were brought thither. That project was laid aside during the war. He upon that bought the stones, and made use of them in building his own house. This, how slight soever it may seem to be, yet had a great effect by the management of his enemies.

*Southamp-  
ton's  
death.*

ANOTHER misfortune was, that he lost his chief friend, to whom he trusted most, and who was his greatest support, the Earl of *Southampton*. The pain of the stone grew upon him to such a degree, that he had resolved to be cut: But a woman came to him, who pretended she had an infallible secret for dissolving the stone, and brought such vouchers to him, that he put himself into her hands. The medicine had a great operation, tho' it ended fatally; for he passed great quantities of gravel, that looked like the coats of a stone sliced off. This encouraged him to go on, till his pains encreased so, that no man wasever seen to die in such torment; which made him oft tremble all over, so that the bed shook with it: Yet he bore it with an astonishing patience. He not only kept himself from saying any indecent thing, but endured all that misery with the firmness of a great man, and the submission of a good christian. The cause of all appeared when he was opened after his death: For the medicine had strip'd the stone of its outward slimy coats, which made it ly soft and easy upon the muscles of the bladder; whereas when these were dissolved,

1667.

ved, the the inner and harder parts of the stone, that were all ragged by the dissolution that was begun, lay upon the neck of the bladder, which raised those violent pains of which he died. The Court was now delivered of a great man, whom they did not much love, and who they knew did not love them. The Treasury was put in commission: And the Earl of *Clarendon* had no interest there. He saw the war, tho' managed by other counsels, yet was like to end in his ruine: For all errors were cast on him. The business of *Chatham* was a terrible blow: And tho' the loss was great, the infamy was greater. The Parliament had given above five millions towards the war: But, thro' the luxury and waste of the Court, this money was so squandred away, that the King could neither set out a fleet, nor defend his coasts. Upon the news of the *Dutch* fleet's being in the river, the King did not ride down himself, nor appear at the head of his people, who were then in such imminent danger. He only sent the Duke of *Albemarle* down, and was intending to retire to *Windsor*. But that looked so like a flying from danger, that he was prevailed on to stay. And it was given out, that he was very chearful that night at supper with his Mistresses, which drew many libels upon him, that were writ with as much wit as malice, and brought him under a general contempt. He was compared to *Nero*, who sung while *Rome* was burning. A day or two after that he rode thro' *London*, accompanied with the most popular men of his Court, and assured the citizens he would live and die with his people, upon which there were some acclamations: But the matter went heavily. The City was yet in ashes: And the jealousy



1667. lously of burning it on design had got so among them, that the King himself was not free from suspicion. If the *Dutch* had pursued their advantage in the first consternation, they might have done more mischief, and have come a great way up the *Thames*, and burnt many merchant ships: But they thought they had done enough, and so they failed away. The Court was at a stand what to do: For the *French* had assured them the treaty was as good as finished. Whether the *French* set this on, as that which would both weaken the fleet of *England*, and alienate the King so entirely from the *Dutch* that he would be easily engaged into new alliances to revenge this affront, as many believed, I cannot pretend to determine.

The Irish  
sought the  
protection  
of France.

THE Earl of *Essex* was at that time in *Paris*, on his way home from the waters of *Bourbon*: And he told me, the Queen-mother of *England* sent for him, as being one of her son's Privy Council; and told him, the *Irish* had sent over some to the Court of *France*, desiring money and arms with some officers, and undertook to put that Island into the hands of the *French*. He told me, he found the Queen was in her inclinations and advices true to her son's interest: But he was amazed to see, that a woman, who in a drawing room was the liveliest woman of the age, and had a vivacity of imagination that surprized all who came near her yet after all her practice in affairs had so little either of judgement or conduct: And he did not wonder at the miscarriage of the late King's counsels, since she had such a share in them. But the *French* had then greater things in view. The King of *Spain* was dead. And now after the *French* had managed the war so, that they had been at

no part of the expence of it, nor brought a ship to the assistance of the *Dutch* in any engagement, and that both *England* and *Holland* had made a great loss both in ships and treasure; they resolved to manage the peace so, as to oblige the King by giving him a peace, when he was in no condition to carry on a war. I enter not into our negotiation with the Bishop of *Munster*, nor his treacherous departing from his engagements, since I know nothing of that matter, but what is in print.

As soon as the peace was made, the King saw with what disadvantage he was like to meet his Parliament. So he thought, the disgracing a publick Minister, who by his being long in so high a post had drawn upon himself much envy, and many enemies, would cover himself and the rest of his Court. Other things concurred to set this forward. The King was grown very weary of the Queen: And it was believed, he had a great mind to be rid of her. The load of that marriage was cast on the Lord *Clarendon*, as made on design to raise his own grandchildren. Many members of the House of Commons, such as *Clifford*, *Osborn*, *Ker*, *Littleton*, and *Seimour*, were brought to the King; who all assured him, that upon his Restoration they intended both to have raised his authority, and to have encreased his revenue; but that the Earl of *Clarendon* had discouraged it, and that all his creatures had possessed the House with such jealousies of the King, that they thought it was not fit to trust him too much, nor too far. This made a deep impression on the King, who was weary of Lord *Clarendon*'s imposing way, and had a mind to be freed from the authority, to which he had been so long accustomed.

1667.

1667.

The Duke  
of Rich-  
mond's  
marriage.

med that it was not easy to keep him within bounds.

Yet the King was so afraid to engage himself too deep in his own affairs that it was a doubt whether he would dismiss him or not, if a concern of one of his amours had not sharpened his resentment; so that what other considerations could not do, was brought about by an ill grounded jealousy, *Mistress Steward* had gained so much on the King, and yet had kept her ground with so much firmness, that the King seemed to design if possible to legitimate his addresses to her when he saw no hope of succeeding any other way. The Duke of *Richmond*, being a widower, courted her. The King seemed to give way to it; and pretended to take such care of her, that he would have good settlements made for her. He hoped by that means to have broke the matter decently; for he knew the Duke of *Richmond's* affairs were in disorder. So the King ordered Lord *Clarendon* to examine the estate he pretended to settle. But he was told, whether true or false I cannot tell, that Lord *Clarendon* told her, that the Duke of *Richmond's* affairs, it was true, were not very clear; but that a family so near related to the King could never be left in distress, & that such a match would not come in her way every day; so she had best consider well, before she rejected it. This was carried to the King, as a design he had that the Crown might descend to his own grandchildren; and that he was afraid, lest strange methods should be taken to get rid of the Queen, and to make way for her. When the King saw that she had a mind to marry the Duke of *Richmond*, he offered to make her a Duchess, and to settle an estate

on



on her. Upon this she said, she saw she must either marry him, or suffer much in the opinion of the world. And she was prevailed on by the D. of *Richmond*, who was passionately in love with her, to go privately from *Whitehall*, and marry him without giving the King notice. The Earl of *Clarendon's* son, the Lord *Cornbury*, was going to her lodgings, upon some assignation that she had given him about her affairs, knowing nothing of her intentions. He met the King in the door coming out full of fury; who suspecting that Lord *Cornbury* was in the design, spoke to him as one in a rage that forgot all decency, & for some time would not hear Lord *Cornbury* speak in his own defence. In the afternoon he heard him with more temper, as he himself told me. Yet this made so deep an impression, that he resolved to take the seals from his father. The King said to the Lord *Lauderdale*, that he had talked of the matter with *Sheldon*; and that he convinced him, that it was necessary to remove Lord *Clarendon* from his post. And, as soon as it was done, the King sent for *Sheldon*, & told him what he had done: But he answered nothing. When the King insisted to oblige him to declare himself, he said, *Sir, I wish you would put away this woman that you keep.* The King upon that replied sharply, why had he never talked to him of that sooner, but took this occasion now to speak of it? *Lauderdale* told me, he had all this from the King: And that the King and *Sheldon* had gone into such expostulations upon it, that from that day forward *Sheldon* could never recover the King's confidence.

THE seals were given to Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, then in greatest esteem, which he did not maintain long after

*Bridgman*  
made Lord  
Keeper.

1667.

*Wilkins*  
made Bish-  
op of *Chef-*  
*ter*

after his advancement. His study and practice lay so intirely in the Common law, that he never seemed to apprehend what equity was: Nor had he a head made for business, or for such a Court. He was a man of great integrity, and had very serious impressions of religion on his mind. He had been always on the side of the Church: Yet he had a great tenderness for the Non-conformists: And, the Bishops having all declared for Lord *Clarendon*, except one or two, he and the new scene of the Ministry were inclined to favour them. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had been in high disgrace before Lord *Clarendon's* fall, came upon that into high favour, and set up for a patron of liberty of conscience, and of all the sects. The See of *Chester* happened to fall vacant soon after: And Doctor *Wilkins* was by his means promoted to that See. It was no small prejudice to him, that he was recommended by so bad a man. *Wilkins* had a courage in him that could stand against a current, and against all the reproaches with which ill natured Clergy-men studied to load him. He said, he was called for by the King, without any motion of his own, to a publick station, in which he would endeavour to do all the good he could, without considering the ill effects that it might have on himself. The King had such a command of himself, that when his interest led him to serve any end, or to court any sort of men, he did it so dextrously, and with such an air of sincerity, that till men were well practised in him, he was apt to impose on them. He seemed now to go into moderation and comprehension with so much heartiness, that both *Bridgman* and *Wilkins* believed he was in earnest in it: Tho' there was nothing that the

Po-

Popi  
all me  
was n  
And,  
off from  
resolve  
soften  
to their

HE  
affairs  
between  
pretenc  
as the  
tho' a  
King  
withou  
succes  
the Py  
over-ru  
to ente  
some p  
but a  
land.

was en  
I will  
account  
Temple  
of Kin  
it wou  
of his  
all that  
in him  
conduc

TH  
set on  
friends

Popish counsels were more fixed in, than to oppose 1667.  
all motions of that kind. But the King saw, it  
was necessary to recover the affections of his people.  
And, since the Church of *England* was now gone  
off from him, upon Lord *Clarendon's* disgrace, he  
resolved to shew some favour to the sects, both to  
soften them, and to force the others to come back  
to their dependence upon him.

HE began also to express his concern in the  
affairs of *Europe*: And he brought about the peace  
between *Castile* and *Portugal*. The *French* King  
pretended, that by the law of *Brabant* his Queen,  
as the heir of the late King of *Spain's* first marriage,  
tho' a daughter, was to be preferred to the young  
King of *Spain*, the heir of the second venter,  
without any regard to the renunciation of any  
succession to his Queen stipulated by the peace of  
the *Pyrenees*; and was upon that pretension like to  
over-run the *Netherlands*. *Temple* was sent over  
to enter into an alliance with the *Dutch*, by which  
some parts of *Flanders* were yielded up to *France*,  
but a barrier was preserved for the security of *Hol-*  
*land*. Into this the King of *Sweden*, then a child,  
was engaged: So it was called the Triple Alliance.  
I will say no more of that since so particular an  
account is given of it by him who could do it best,  
*Temple* himself. It was certainly the masterpiece  
of King *Charles's* life: And, if he had stuck to it,  
it would have been both the strength and the glory  
of his reign. This disposed his people to forgive  
all that was pass'd, and to renew their confidence  
in him, which was much shaken by the whole  
conduct of the *Dutch* war.

The French  
King's pre-  
tensions to  
*Flanders*.

The triple  
Alliance

THE Parliament were upon their first opening *Clarendon's*  
set on to destroy Lord *Clarendon*. Some of his integrity.  
friends went to him a few days before the Parliament



met, and told him, many were at work to find out matter of accusation against him. He best knew what could be brought against him with any truth; for falsehood was infinite, and could not be guessed at. They desired, he would trust some of them with what might break out, since probably nothing could lye concealed against so strict a search. And the method in which his friends must manage for him, if there was any mixture or allay in him, was to be very different from that they could use, if he was sure that nothing could be brought out against him. The Lord *Burlington* and Bishop *Morley* both told me, they talked to this purpose to him. Lord *Clarendon* upon that told them, that, if either in matters of justice, or in any negotiations abroad, he had ever received a farthing, he gave them leave to disown all friendship to him. The *French King*, hearing he had sent for all the books of the *Louvre* impression, had sent these to him, which he took, as thinking it a trifle, as indeed it was: And this was the only present he ever had from any foreign Prince. He had never taken any thing by virtue of his office, but that which his predecessors had claimed as a right. But now hue and cry were sent out against him: And all persons, who had heard him say any thing that could bear an ill construction, were examined. Some thought they had matters of great weight against him: And when they were told these would not amount to high treason, they desired to know what would amount to it.

He was  
impeached  
in the  
House of  
Commons.

WHEN twenty three articles were brought into the House against him, the next day he desired his second son, the now Earl of *Rocheſter*, to acquaint

acqu  
wer  
dispa  
knew  
out  
be b  
wou  
But  
hand  
resol  
whic  
who  
justic  
prece  
to th  
speci  
migh  
to be  
there  
that  
King  
occas  
of a C  
destru  
on.  
upon  
tho'  
the K  
said,  
especi  
a man  
to thin  
away,  
now g  
till his

acquaint the House, that he, hearing what articles were brought against him, did in order to the dispatch of the business, desire that those, who knew best what their evidence was, would single out any one of the articles, that they thought could be best proved; and, if they could prove that, he would submit to the censure due upon them all. But those, who had the secret of this in their hands, and knew they could make nothing of it, resolved to put the matter upon a preliminary, in which they hoped to find cause to hang up the whole affair, and fix upon the Lords the denial of justice. So, according to some few and late precedents, they sent up a general impeachment to the Lords bar of high treason, without any special matter; and demanded, that upon that he might be committed to prison. They had reason to believe the Lords would not grant this: And therefore they resolved to insist on it; and reckoned, that when so much money was to be given, the King would prevail with the Lords. Upon this occasion it appeared, that the private animosities of a Court could carry them to establish the most destructive precedent that could have been thought on. For if this had pass'd, then every Minister upon a general impeachment was to be ruined, tho' no special matter was laid against him. Yet the King himself pressed this vehemently. It was said, the very suspicions of a House of Commons, especially such a one as this was, was enough to blast a man, and to secure him: For there was reason to think, that every person so charged would run away, if at liberty. Lord *Clarendon's* enemies had now gone so far, they thought, they were not safe till his head was off: And they apprehended, that

1667.

if he were once in prison, it would be easy either to find, or at least to bring witnesses against him. This matter is all in print: So I will go no farther in the particulars. The Duke was at this time taken ill with the small-pox: So he was out of the whole debate. The Peers thought that a general accusation was only a clamour, and that their dignities signified little, if a clamour was enough to send them to prison. All the Earl of *Clarendon's* friends pressed the King much on his behalf, that he might be suffered to go off gently, and without censure, since he had served both his father and himself so long, so faithfully, and with such success. But the King was now so sharpened against him, that, tho' he named no particulars, he expressed a violent and irreconcilable aversion to him; which did the King much hurt in the opinion of all that were not engaged in the party. The affair of the King's marriage was the most talked of, as that which indeed was the only thing that could in any sort justify such a severity. Lord *Clarendon* did protest, as some that had it from himself told me, that he had no other hand in that matter, than as a Counsellour: And in that he appealed to the King himself. After many debates, and conferences, and protestations, in which the whole Court went in visibly to that which was plainly destructive both to the King and to the Ministry, the majority of the House stood firm, and adhered to their first resolution against commitment. The Commons were upon that like to carry the matter far against the Peers, as denying justice. The King seeing this spoke to the Duke, to persuade Lord *Clarendon* to go beyond sea, as the only expedient that was to make up the breach between the two Houses:

The King  
desired he  
would go  
beyond sea.

And



1667.

And he let fall some words of kindness, in case he should comply with this. The Earl of *Clarendon* was all obedience and submission; and was charmed with those tender words, that the King had said of him. So, partly to serve the King, and save himself and his family, but chiefly that he might not be the occasion of any difference between the King and the Duke, who had heartily espoused his interest, he went privately beyond sea; and writ a letter from *Calais* to the House of Lords, protesting his innocence in all the points objected to him, and that he had not gone out of the Kingdom for fear, or out of any consciousness of guilt, but only that he might not be the unhappy occasion of any difference between the two Houses, or of obstructing publick business. This put an end to the dispute. But his enemies called it a confession of guilt, and a flying from justice: Such colours will people give to the most innocent actions.

A Bill was brought in, banishing him the King's dominions under pain of treason if he should return: And it was made treason to correspond with him, without leave from the King. This Act did not pass without much opposition. It was said, there was a known course of law when any man fled from justice: And it seemed against the common course of justice, to make all corresponding with him treason, when he himself was not attainted of treason: Nor could it be just to banish him, unless a day were given him to come in: And then, if he did not come in, he might incur the punishment upon contempt. The Duke, whom the King had employed to prevail with him to withdraw himself, thought he was bound in honour

He was  
benighted  
by Act of  
Parliament

1667.

to press the matter home on the King; which he did so warmly, that for some time a coldness between them was very visible. The part the King had acted in this matter came to be known; and was much censured, as there was just cause for it. The vehemence that he shewed in this whole affair was imputed by many to very different causes. Those who knew him best, but esteemed him least, said to me on this occasion, that all the indignation that appeared in him on this head, was founded on no reason at all; but was an effect of that easiness, or rather laziness of nature, that made him comply with every person that had the greatest credit with him. The Mistress, and the whole Bedchamber, were perpetually railing at him. This by a sort of infection possessed the King, who, without giving himself the trouble of much thinking, did commonly go into any thing that was at the present time the easiest, without considering what might at any other time follow upon it. Thus the Lord *Clarendon* fell under the common fate of great Ministers, whose employment exposes them to envy, and draws upon them the indignation of all who are disappointed in their pretensions. Their friends do generally shew, that they are only the friends of their fortunes: And upon the change of favour they not only forsake them in their extremity, but that they may secure to themselves the protection of a new Favourite, they will labour to redeem all that is pass'd by turning as violently against them, as they formerly fawned abjectly upon them: And Princes are so little sensible of merit or great services, that they sacrifice their best servants, not only when their affairs seem to require it, but to gratify the humour

ot

1667.

of a Mistress, or the passion of a rising Favourite.

I will end this relation of Lord *Clarendon's* fall with an account of his two sons. The eldest, now the Earl of *Clarendon*, is a man naturally sincere: He is a friendly and good natured man. He keeps an exact journal of all that passes, and is punctual to tediousness in all that he relates. He was very early engaged in great secrets: For his father, apprehending of what fatal consequence it would have been to the King's affairs if his correspondence had been discovered by unfaithful Secretaries, engaged him when very young to write all his letters to *England* in cypher; so that he was generally half the day writing in cypher, or decyphering, and was so discreet, as well as faithful, that nothing was ever discovered by him. He continued to be still the person whom his father trusted most: And was the most beloved of all the family, for he was humble and obliging, tho' sometimes peevish. His judgment was not to be much depended on; for he was much carried by vulgar prejudices, and false notions. He was much in the Queen's favour, & was her Chamberlain long. His father's being so violently prosecuted on the account of her marriage, made that she thought herself bound to protect him in a particular manner. He was so provoked at the ill usage his father met with, that he struck in violently with the party that opposed the Court: And the King spoke always of him with great sharpness, and much scorn. His brother, now Earl of *Rocheſter*, is a man of far greater parts. He has a very good pen, but speaks not gracefully. He was thought the smoothest man in the Court: And during all the dispute concerning his father he made his court so dextrously, that no resentments

The character of his two sons.



1667.

ever appeared on that head. When he came into business, and rose to high posts, he grew violent: But was thought an incorrupt man. He has high notions of Government, and thinks it must be maintained with great severity. He delivers up his own notions to his party, that he may lead them. He passes for a sincere man, and seems to have too much heat to be false. *Morley* was long Dean of the Chapel: But he stuck so to the Lord *Clarendon*, that he was sent into his diocese, & *Crofts* Bishop of *Hereford* was made Dean in his room. *Crofts* was a warm devout man, but of no discretion in his conduct: So he lost ground quickly. He used much freedom with the King; but it was in the wrong place, not in private, but in the pulpit.

The King  
was much  
offended  
with the  
Bishops.

THE King was highly offended at the behaviour of most of the Bishops: And he took occasion to vent it at the Councilboard. Upon the complaints that were made of some disorders, and of some Conventicles, he said, the Clergy were chiefly to blame for those disorders; for if they had lived well, and had gone about their parishes, and taken pains to convince the Non-conformists, the Nation might have been by that time well settled. But they thought of nothing, but to get good benefices, and to keep a good table. This I read in a letter that Sir *Robert Murray* writ down to *Scotland*: And it agrees with a conversation that the King was pleased to have with my self once, when I was alone with him in his closet. While we were talking of the ill state the Church was in, I was struck to hear a Prince of his course of life so much disgusted at the ambition, covetousness, and the scandals of the Clergy. He said, if the Clergy had done their part, it had been an easy thing

thing  
he a  
me  
than  
Chap  
very  
living  
He h  
house  
say to  
But th  
nonse  
And i  
a Bish

BR.  
for a  
could  
Churc  
Chief  
design.  
also in  
for on  
was pr  
the Ki  
year 16  
temper  
Presbyt  
in the C  
panied  
person  
Ministe  
became  
*Clarend*  
underm

thing to run down the Non-conformists: But he added, they will do nothing, and will have me do every thing: And most of them do worse than if they did nothing. He told me, he had a Chaplain, that was a very honest man, but a very great blockhead, to whom he had given a living in *Suffolk*, that was full of that sort of people: He had gone about among them from house to house; tho' he could not imagine what he could say to them; for he said he was a very silly fellow: But that he believed, his nonsense suited their nonsense, for he had brought them all to Church: And in reward of his diligence, he had given him a Bishoprick in *Ireland*. 1667.

BRIDGMAN and *Wilkins* set on foot a treaty, for a comprehension of such of the Dissenters as could be brought into the communion of the Church, and a toleration of the rest. *Hale*, the Chief Justice, concurred with them in the design. *Tillotson*, *Stillingfleet*, and *Burton* joined also in it. *Bates*, *Manton*, and *Baxter* were called for on the side of the Presbyterians. And a project was prepared, consisting chiefly of those things that the King had promised by his declaration in the year 1660. Only in the point of re-ordination this temper was proposed, that those who had Presbyterian ordination should be received to serve in the Church by an imposition of hands, accompanied with words which imported, that the person so ordained was received to serve as a Minister in the Church of *England*. This treaty became a common subject of discourse. All Lord *Clarendon's* friends cried out, that the Church was undermined and betrayed: It was said, the cause of

1668.  
A treaty  
for a com-  
prehension  
of the Pres-  
byterians.

1668. of the Church was given up, if we yielded any of those points, about which there had been so much disputing: If the Sectaries were humble & modest, and would tell what would satisfy them, there might be some colour for granting some concessions: But it was unworthy of the Church to go and court, or treat with enemies; when there was no reason to think, that after we had departed from our grounds, which was to confess we had been in the wrong, that we should gain much by it, unless it was to bring scorn & contempt on our selves. On the other hand it was said, the Non-conformists could not legally meet together to offer any schemes in the name of their party: It was well enough known, what they had always excepted to, and what would probably bring over most of the Presbyterians: Such a yielding in some lesser matters would be no reproach, but an honour to the Church; that, how much soever she might be superiour both in point of argument and of power, she would yet of her own accord, and for peace sake, yield a great deal in matters indifferent: The Apollies complying with many of the observances of the *Jews*, and the offers that the Church of *Africk* made to the *Donatists*, were much insisted on: The fears of Popery, and the progress that Atheism was making, did alarm good and wise men: And they thought, every thing that could be done without sin ought to be done towards the healing our divisions. Many books were upon that account writ, to expose the Presbyterians, as men of false notions in religion, which led to Antinomianism, and which would soon carry them into a dissolution of morals, under a pretence of being justified by faith only, without works. The three volumes

of  
mar  
shar  
But  
sect  
by  
and  
no  
relig  
ente  
writ  
livel  
strai  
cond  
his b  
only  
he a  
tmen  
Laug  
the m  
relped  
was  
know  
ready  
very  
purpo  
AN  
City  
Hale  
so tru  
the w  
any  
preven  
charge  
it self



of the Friendly Debate, tho' writ by a very good man, and with a good intent, had an ill effect in sharpening Peoples spirits too much against them. But the most virulent of all that writ against the sects was *Parker*, afterwards made Bishop of *Oxford* by King *James*; who was full of satyrical vivacity, and was considerably learned; but was a man of no judgment, and of as little virtue; and as to religion rather impious. After he had for some years entertained the Nation with several virulent books, writ with much life, he was attacked by the liveliest droll of the age, who writ in a burlesque strain, but with so peculiar and so entertaining a conduct, that from the King down to the tradesman, his books were read with great pleasure. That not only humbled *Parker*, but the whole party: For he author of the *Rehearſal* transposed had all the men of wit (of, as the *French* phrase it, all the *Laughers*) on his side. But what advantages soever the men of comprehension might have in any other respect, the majority of the House of Commons was so possessed against them, that when it was known in a succeeding session, that a bill was ready to be offered to the House for that end, a very extraordinary vote pass'd, that no bill to that purpose should be received.

AN Act pass'd in this session for rebuilding the City of *London*, which gave Lord Chief Justice *Hale* a great reputation: For it was drawn with so true a judgment, and so great foresight, that the whole City was raised out of its ashes without any suits of law; which, if that bill had not prevented them, would have brought a second charge on the City, not much less than the fire it self had been. And upon that, to the amazement of

1668.

*Andrew  
Marvel.*

The City  
of *London*  
rebuilt.

1668.

of all *Europe*, *London* was in four years time rebuilt, with so much beauty and magnificence, that we who saw it in both states, before and after the fire, cannot reflect on it without wondering where the wealth could be found to bear so vast a loss as was made by the fire, and so prodigious an expence as was laid out in the rebuilding it. This did demonstrate, that the intrinsic wealth of the Nation was very high, when it could answer such a dead charge.

Designs for  
putting  
away the  
Queen.

I return to the intrigues of the Court. Lord *Clarendon's* enemies thought they were not safe, as long as the Duke had so much credit with the King, and the Duchess had so much power over him: So they fell on propositions of a strange nature to ruine them. The Duke of *Buckingham* pressed the King to own a marriage with the Duke of *Monmouth's* mother: And he undertook to get witnesses to attest it. The Duke of *York* told me, in general, that there was much talk about it: But he did not descend to particulars. The Earl of *Carlisle* offered to begin the matter in the House of Lords. The King would not consent to this; Yet he put it by in such a manner, as made them all conclude, he wished it might be done, but did not know how to bring it about. These discourses were all carried to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and got fatally into his head. When the Duke talked of this matter to me in the year seventy three, I asked him, if he thought the King had still the same inclinations? He said he believed not: He thought, the Duke of *Monmouth* had not spirit enough to think of it: And he commended the Duchess of *Monmouth* so highly as to say to me, that the hopes of a Crown could not  
work

work on her to do an unjust thing. I said I thought he gave that matter too much countenance, by calling the Duke of *Monmouth* nephew: But he said, it pleased the King. When the party saw they could make nothing of the business of the Duke of *Monmouth*, they tried next by what methods they could get rid of the Queen; that so the King might marry another wife: For the King had children by so many different creatures, that they hoped for issue, if he had a wife capable of any. Some thought the Queen and he were not legally married: But the avowing a marriage, and the living many years in that state, did certainly supply any defect in point of form. Others pretended, she was barren from a natural cause, and that seemed equivalent to impotence in men. But the King often said, he was sure she had once miscarried. This, tho' not overthrown by such an evidence, could never be proved; unless the having no children was to be concluded a barrenness: And the dissolving a marriage on such an account could neither be justified in law nor conscience. Other stories were given out of the Queen's person, which were false: For I saw in a letter under the King's own hand that the marriage was consummated. Others talked of polygamy: And officious persons were ready to thrust themselves into any thing that could contribute to their advancement. Lord *Lauderdale* and Sir *Robert Murray* asked my opinion of these things. I said, I knew speculative people could say a great deal in the way of argument for polygamy, and divorce: Yet these things were so decried, that they were rejected by all Christian societies: So that all such propositions would throw

1668.



1668. throw us into great convulsions; and entail war upon us, if any issue came from a marriage so grounded.

A divorce  
enacted for  
Adultery.

AN accident happened at that time, that made the discouſing of thoſe matters the common ſubject of converſation. The Lord *Roos*, afterwards Earl of *Rutland*, brought proofs of adultery againſt his wife; and obtained a ſentence of divorce in the Spiritual Court: Which amounting only to a ſeparation from bed and board, he moved for a bill diſſolving the bond, and enabling him to marry another wife. The *Duke* and all his party apprehended the conſequences of a Parliamentary divorce: So they oppoſed this with great heat: And Almoſt all the Biſhops were of that ſide: Only *Cofins* and *Wilkins*, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Cheſter*, were for it. And the King was as earneſt in the ſetting it on, as the *Duke* was in oppoſing it. The zeal which the two brothers expreſſed on that occaſion made all people conclude, that they had a particular concern in the matter. The bill paſſ'd: And upon that precedent ſome moved the King, that he would order a bill to be brought in to divorce him from the Queen, This went ſo far, that a day was agreed on for making the motion in the Houſe of Commons, as Mr. *May* of the privy purſe told me; (who had the greateſt and longeſt ſhare in the King's ſecret confidence of any man in that time; for it was never broke off, tho' often ſhaken, he being in his notions againſt every thing that the King was for, both *France*, Popery, and arbitrary government, but a particular ſympathy of temper, and his ſerving the King in his vices, created a confidence much envied, and often attempted to be broke,

1668.

broke, but never with any success beyond a short coldness: ) But he added, when he told me of this design, that three days before the motion was to be made, the King called for him, and told him, that matter must be let alone, for it would not do. This disturbed him much; for he had engaged himself far in laying the thing, and in managing those who were to undertake the debate.

AT this time the Court fell into much extravagance in masquerading, both King and Queen, and all the Court went about masked, and came into houses unknown, and danced there with a great deal of wild frolick. In all this people were so disguised, that without being on the secret none could distinguish them. They were carried about in hackney chairs. Once the Queen's chairmen, not knowing who she was, went from her: So she was left alone, and was much disturbed, and came to *Whitehall* in a hackney coach: Some say it was in a cart. The Duke of *Buckingham* proposed to the King, that if he would give him leave he would steal her away, & send her to a plantation, where she should be well & carefully looked to, but never heard of any more: So it should be given out, that she had deserted: And upon that it would fall in with some principles to carry an act for a divorce, grounded upon the pretence of a wilful desertion. Sir *Robert Murray* told me, that the King himself rejected this with horror. He said, it was a wicked thing to make a poor Lady miserable, only because she was his wife, and had no children by him, which was no fault of hers. The hints of this broke out: For the Duke of *Buckingham* could conceal nothing. And upon that the Earl of *Manchester*, then Lord

A great  
dissolution  
of morals  
in Court.

1668.

*Chamberlain*, told the Queen, it was neither decent, nor safe for her to go about in such a manner as she had done of late: So she gave it over. But at last all these schemes settled in a proposition, into which the King went; which was to deal with the Queen's confessor, that he might persuade her to leave the world, and to turn religious: Upon which the Parliament would have been easily prevailed on to pass a divorce. This came to be known: But what steps were made in it were never known. It was believed, that upon this the Duchess of *York* sent an express to *Rome* with the notice of her conversion; and that orders were sent from *Rome* to all about the Queen to persuade her against such a proposition, if any should suggest it to her. She herself had no mind to be a Nun: And the Duchess was afraid of seeing another Queen. The Mistress created at that time Duchess of *Cleveland*, knew that she must be the first sacrifice to a beloved Queen: So she reconciled her self upon this to the Duchess of *York*. The Duke of *Buckingham* upon that broke with her, and studied to take the King from her by new amours: And because he thought a gaiety of humour would take much with the King, he engaged him to entertain two players one after another, *Davies* and *Guin*. The first did not keep her hold long: But *Guin*, the indiscreetest & wildest creature that ever was in a Court, continued to the end of the Kings life in great favour, and was maintained at a vast expence. The Duke of *Buckingham* told me, that when she was first brought to the King, she asked only five hundred pounds a year: And the King refused it. But when he told me this, about four years after, he said, she had got of the King above sixty thousand pounds.





de-  
man-  
over  
posi-  
us to  
night  
reli-  
have  
This  
made  
that  
ess to  
d that  
Queen  
if any  
mind  
aid of  
reated  
at she  
Queen :  
e Du-  
upon  
e King  
thought  
ith the  
players  
be first  
e indif-  
Court,  
favour,  
Duke of  
brought  
ounds a  
when he  
aid, she  
pounds.



She acted all persons in so lively a manner, and was such a constant diversion to the King that even a new Mistress could not drive her away. But after all he never treated her with the decencies of a Mistress. The King had another Mistress, that was managed by Lord *Shaftesbury*, who was the daughter of a Clergyman, *Roberts*; in whom her first education had so deep a root, that, tho' she fell into many scandalous disorders, with very dismal adventures in them all, yet a principle of religion was so deep laid in her, that, tho' it did not restrain her, yet it kept alive in her such a constant horror at sin, that she was never easy in an ill course, and died with a great sense of her former ill life. I was often with her the last three months of her life. The Duchess of *Cleveland*, finding that she had lost the King, abandoned her self to great disorders: One of which, by the artifice of the Duke of *Buckingham*, was discovered by the King in person, the party concerned leaping out of the window. She also spoke of the King to all people in such a manner, as brought him under much contempt. But he seemed insensible: And tho' libels of all sorts had then a very free course, yet he was never disturbed at it.

1668.

Many libels  
writ by the  
best wits of  
that time.

THE three most eminent wits of that time, on whom all the lively libels were fastened; were the Earls of *Dorset*, and *Rochester*, and Sir *Charles Sidley*. Lord *Dorset* was a generous good natured man. He was so oppressed with phlegm, that till he was a little heated with wine he scarce ever spoke: But he was upon that exaltation a very lively man. Never was so much ill nature in a pen as in his, joined with so much good nature as was in himself, even to excess; for he

*Dorset's*  
Character



1668.

*Rochester*

was against all punishing, even of malefactors. He was bountiful, even to run himself into difficulties: And charitable to a fault; for he commonly gave all he had about him, when he met an object that moved him. But he was so lazy, that, tho' the King seemed to court him to be a Favourite, he would not give himself the trouble that belonged to that post. He hated the Court; and despised the King, when he saw he was neither generous, nor tender hearted. *Wilmot* Earl of *Rochester*, was naturally modest, till the Court corrupted him. His wit had in it a peculiar brightness, to which none could ever arrive. He gave himself up to all sorts of extravagance, and to the wildest frolicks that a wanton wit could devise. He would have gone about the streets as a beggar, and made love as a porter. He set up a stage as an *Italian* Mountebank. He was for some years always drunk, and was ever doing some mischief. The King loved his company for the diversion it afforded, better than his person: And there was no love lost between them. He took his revenges in many libels. He found out a footman that knew all the Court; and he furnished him with a red coat and a musket as a centinel, and kept him all the winter long every night at the doors of such Ladies, as he believed might be in intrigues. In the Court a centinel is little minded, and is believed to be posted by a Captain of the Guards to hinder a combat: So this man saw who walked about, and visited at forbidden hours. By this means Lord *Rochester* made many discoveries. And when he was well furnished with materials, he used to retire into the country for a month or two to write libels: Once being drunk

drunk he intended to give the King a libel that he had writ on some ladies: But by a mistake he gave him one written on himself. He fell into an ill habit of body: And in several fits of sickness he had deep remorses; for he was guilty both of much impiety, and of great immoralities. But as he recovered he threw these off: and turned again to his former ill courses. In the last year of his life I was much with him, and have writ a book of what pass'd between him and me. I do verily believe, he was then so entirely changed, that, if he had recovered, he would have made good all his resolutions. *Sidley* had a more sudden and copious wit, which furnished a perpetual run of discourse: But he was not so correct as Lord *Dorset*, nor so sparkling as Lord *Rocheſter*. The Duke of *Buckingham* loved to have these much about him: And he gave himself up to a monstrous course of studied immoralities of the worst kinds: He was so full of mercury, that he could not fix long in any friendship, or to any design. *Bennet*, now made Lord *Arlington*, and he fell out: *Bennet* was all cunning and artifice, and so could not hold long with him, who was so open that he disclosed every thing. Lord *Arlington* was engaged in a great intimacy with *Clifford*, *Littleton*, and *Duncomb*. I have already given some account of the two first. *Duncomb* was a judicious man, but very haughty, and apt to raise enemies against himself: He was an able Parliament man: But could not go into all the designs of the Court; for he had a sense of religion, and a zeal for the liberty of his country. The Duke of *Buckingham*'s chief friends were the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Lauderdale*, but above all Sir *Thomas Osborn*, raised

*Sidley:**Duncomb.*

1668. afterwards to be Lord Treasurer, and Earl of *Danby*, and since made Duke of *Leeds* by King *William*.

Sir  
*William*  
*Coventry's*  
character.

THE King took Sir *William Coventry* from the Duke, and put him in the Treasury. He was in a fair way to be the chief Minister, and deserved it more than all the rest did. But he was too honest to engage in the designs into which the Court was resolved to go, as soon as it had recovered a little reputation; which was sunk very low by the ill management of the *Dutch* war, & the squandering away of the money given for it. He was a man of the finest and the best temper that belonged to the Court. The Duke of *Buckingham* and he fell out, I know not for what reason: And a challenge pass'd between them, upon which *Coventry* was forbid the Court. And he upon that seemed to retire very willingly: And was become a very religious man when I knew him. He was offered after that the best posts in the Court, oftner than once: But he would never engage again. He saw what was at bottom, and was resolved not to go through with it; and so continued to his death in a retired course of life.

The Government  
of *Ireland*  
changed.

THE Duke of *Ormond* continued still in the Government of *Ireland*, tho' several interests joined together against him. The Earls of *Orrery* and *Ranelagh* on the one hand, & *Talbot* on the other. Lord *Orrery* loved to appear in business; but dealt so much underhand, that he had not much credit with any side. Lord *Ranelagh* was a young man of great parts, & as great vices: He had a pleasantness in his conversation that took much with the King, & had a great dexterity in business. Many complaints were secretly brought against the Duke of *Ormond*. The King loved him; & he accommodated himself much



much to the King's humour. Yet the King was tho' 1668.  
 with difficulty, prevailed on to put an end to his  
 government of *Ireland*, and to put Lord *Roberts*,  
 afterwards made Earl of *Radnor*, in his place; <sup>Lord</sup> *Roberts*  
 who was a morose man, believed to be severely  
 just, and as wise as a cynical humour could allow  
 him to be. The manner of removing the Duke  
 of *Ormond* will give a particular character of the  
 King's temper. He sent Lord *Arlington* to him  
 for his commission. The Duke of *Ormond* said, he  
 had received it from the King's own hands, & he  
 would go and deliver it to him. When he carried  
 it to the King, the King denied he had sent him  
 any such message. Two days after that Lord  
*Arlington* was sent again with the same message:  
 And he had the same answer: And the King  
 disowned it again to the Duke. So the King  
 declared in the Privy Council the change of the  
 Government of *Ireland*, and made *Roberts*  
 Lord Lieutenant. And it flew abroad as a piece  
 of news. The Duke of *Ormond* hearing that, came  
 to the King in great wrath, to expostulate upon it.  
 But the King denied the whole thing, & sent him  
 away: But he sent for *Fitzpatrick*, who had  
 married his sister, and who told me the whole  
 story, and sent him to the Duke of *Ormond*, to  
 tell him, the King had denied the matter tho' it  
 was true, for he observed he was in such a heat,  
 that he was afraid he might have said indecent  
 things. And he was resolved not to fall out with  
 him: For, tho' his affairs made it necessary to  
 change the Government of *Ireland*, yet he would  
 still be kind to him, & continue him Lord *Steward*.  
 Lord *Radnor* did not continue long in *Ireland*: He  
 was cynical in his whole administration, and

1668.

Lord  
Berkley.

uneasy to the King in every thing: And in one of his peevish humours he writ to the King, that he had but one thing to ask of him, which if it might be granted, he would never ask another, and that was to be discharged of his employment. The Lord *Berkley* succeeded him, who was brother to the Lord *Fitzharding*, and from small beginnings had risen up to the greatest post a subject was capable of. In the war he was Governour of *Exeter* for the King, and one of his Generals. He was named by him Governour to the Duke of *York*. He was now made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and afterwards sent Ambassadour to *France*, and Plenipotentiary to *Nimeguen*. He was a man in whom it appeared with how little true judgment Courts distribute favours and honours. He had a positive way of undertaking and determining in every thing, but was a very weak man, and not incorrupt.

The Com-  
mittee of  
Brook-  
house.Lord  
Brereton.

THE Court delivered it self up to vice. And the House of Commons lost all respect in the Nation; for they gave still all the money that was asked. Yet those who opposed the Court carried one great point, that a Committee should be named to examine the accounts of the money that was given during the *Dutch* war. It was carried, that they should be all men out of the House. Lord *Brereton* was the chief of them, and had the chair. He was a philosophical man, and was all his life long in search of the philosophers stone, by which he neglected his own affairs; but was a man of great integrity, and was not to be gained by the flatteries, hopes, or threatnings of the Court. Sir *William Turner* was another of the Committee, who had been Lord  
Ma-

Major of *London* the former year, under whose wife and just administration the rebuilding of the City advanced so fast, that he would have been chosen Lord Major for the ensuing year, if he had not declined it. *Pierpoint* was likewise of this Committee: So was Sir *James Langham*, a very weak man, famed only for his readiness of speaking florid *Latin*, which he had attained to a degree beyond any man of the age; but his style was too poetical, and full of Epithets and Figures.

1668.

I name Sir *George Saville* last, because he deserves a more copious character. He rose afterwards to be Viscount, Earl, and Marquis of *Halifax*. He was a man of great and ready wit; full of life, and very pleasant; much turned to satyr. He let his wit run much on matters of religion; So that he passed for a bold and determined Atheist; tho' he often protested to me, he was not one; and said, he believed there was not one in the world. He confessed, he could not swallow down everything that divines imposed on the world: He was a Christian in submission: He believed as much he could, and he hoped that God would not lay it to his charge, if he could not digest iron, as an ostrich did, nor take into his belief things that must burst him: If he had any scruples, they were not sought for, nor cherished by him; for he never read an atheistical book. In a fit of sickness, I knew him very much touched with a sense of religion. I was then often with him. He seemed full of good purposes: But they went off with his sickness. He was always talking of morality and friendship. He was punctual in all payments, and just in all his private dealings. But with relation to the publick, he went backwards.

*Halifax's*  
character.

Dd 5

and



1668.

& forwards, & changed sides so often; that in conclusion no side trusted him. He seemed full of Commonwealth notions: Yet he went into the worst part of King *Charles's* reign. The liveliness of his imagination was always too hard for his judgment. A severe jest was preferred by him to all arguments whatsoever. And he was endless in consultations: For when after much discourse a point was settled, if he could find a new jest, to make even that which was suggested by himself seem ridiculous, he could not hold, but would study to raise the credit of his wit, tho' it made others call his judgment in question. When he talked to me as a philosopher of his contempt of the world, I asked him, what he meant by getting so many new titles, which I call'd the hanging himself about with bells and tinsel. He had no other excuse for it, but this, that, since the world were such fools as to value those matters, a man must be a fool for company: He considered them but as rattles: Yet rattles please children: So these might be of use to his family. His heart was much set on raising his family. But, tho' he made a vast estate for them, he buried two of his sons himself, and almost all his grandchildren. The son that survived was an honest man, but far inferior to him. I do not remember who besides these were of that Committee, which because it sat in *Brook-house*, was called by the name of that house.

1669.

Many Parliament men gained by the Court.

THE Court was much troubled to see an enquiry of this kind set on foot. It was said, the King was basely treated, when all his expence was to be looked into. On the other hand it was answered, that the Parliament did not look into his

reve-

revenue, but only to the distribution of that treasure that was trusted to him for carrying on the war. I was told, that, after all the most shameful items that could be put into an account, there was none offered for about 800000 *l*. But I was not then in *England*: So I was very imperfectly informed as to this matter. The chief men that promoted this were taken off, (as the word then was for corrupting members,) in which the Court made so great a progress, that it was thought the King could never have been prevailed on to part with a Parliament so much practised on, and where every man's price was known; for as a man rose in his credit in the House, he raised his price; and expected to be treated accordingly. In all this enquiry the carelessness and luxury of the Court came to be so much exposed, that the King's spirit was much sharpened upon it. All the flatterers about him magnified foreign governments, where the Princes were absolute, that of *France* more particularly. Many to please him said, it was a very easy thing to shake off the restraints of law, if the King would but set about it. The Crown of *Denmark* was elective, and subject to a Senate, and yet was in one day, without any visible force, changed to be both hereditary and absolute, no rebellion nor convulsion of state following on it. The King loved the project in general; but would not give himself the trouble of laying or managing it. And therefore, till his affairs were made easier, and the project grew clearer, he resolved to keep all things close within himself; and went on in the common maxim, to balance party against party, and by doing popular things to get money of his Parliament, under the

1669:

1669.

the pretence of supporting the Triple Alliance. So money bills passed easily in the House of Commons: Which by a strange reverse came to be opposed in the House of Lords; who began to complain, that the money bills came up so thick, that it was said, there was no end of their giving. And signifying purpose, as well as a measure, this pass'd as a severe jest at that time. Sir *John Coventry* made a gross reflection on the King's amours. He was one of those who struggled much against the giving money. The common method is: After those who oppose such bills fail in the main vote, the next thing they endeavour is, to lay the money on funds that will be unacceptable, and will prove deficient. So these men proposed the laying a tax on the Play-houses, which in so dissolute a time were become nests of prostitution. And the stage was defiled beyond all example: *Dryden*, the great master of Dramatick Poesy, being a monster of immodesty, and of impurity of all sorts. This was opposed by the Court: It was said, the Players were the King's servants, and a part of his pleasure. *Coventry* asked, whether did the King's pleasure lie among the men, or the women that acted? This was carried with great indignation to the Court. It was said, this was the first time that the King was personally reflected on: If it was passed over, more of the same kind would follow; and it would grow a fashion to talk so: It was therefore fit to take such severe notice of this, that no body should dare to talk at that rate for the future. The Duke of *York* told me, he said all he could to the King to divert him from the resolution he took; which was to send some of the Guards, and watch in the streets where

Sir



Sir John lodged, and leave a mark upon him. 1669.  
*Sands* and *Obrian*, and some others, went thither; and as *Coventry* was going home, they drew about him. He stood up to the wall, and snatched the flambeau out of his servant's hands: And with that in the one hand, and his sword in the other, he defended himself so well, that he got more credit by it than by all the actions of his life. He wounded some of them; but was soon disarmed: And then they cut his nose to the bone, to teach him to remember what respect he owed to the King. And so they left him, and went back to the Duke of *Monmouth's*, where *Obrian's* arm was dressed. That matter was executed by orders from the Duke of *Monmouth*: For which he was severely censured, because he lived then in professions of friendship with *Coventry*: so that his subjection to the King was not thought an excuse for directing so vile an attempt on his friend, without sending him secret notice of what was designed. *Coventry* had his nose so well needled up, that the scar was scarce to be discerned. This put the House of Commons in a furious uproar. They passed a bill of banishment against the actors of it; and put a clause in it, that it should not be in the King's power to pardon them. This gave great advantages to all those that opposed the Court: And was often remembered, and much improved, by all the angry men of this time. The names of the Court and Country party, which till now had seemed to be forgotten, were again revived.

*Coventry's*  
 nose was  
 cut.

WHEN the City was pretty well rebuilt, they began to take care of the Churches, which had lain in ashes some years. And in that time Con-  
 venticles

A new pro-  
 secution of  
 Conventi-  
 cles.

1667. conventicles abounded in all parts of the City. It was thought hard to hinder men from worshipping God any way as they could, when there were no Churches, nor Ministers to look after them. But they began to raise Churches of boards, till the publick allowance should be raised towards the building the Churches. These they called Tabernacles: And they fitted them up with pews and galleries as Churches. So now an Act was proposed, reviving the former Act against Conventicles, with some new clauses in it. One was very extraordinary, that if any doubt should arise concerning the meaning of any part of this Act, it was to be determined in the sense that was the most contrary to Conventicles, it being the intention of the House to repress them in the most effectual manner possible. The other was, the laying a heavy fine on such Justices of the Peace as should not execute the law, when informations were brought them. Upon this many, who would not be the instruments of such severities, left the bench, and would sit there no longer. This Act was executed in the City very severely in *Starling's* Mayoralty; and put things in such disorder, that many of the trading men of the City began to talk of removing with their stocks over to *Holland*. But the King ordered a stop to be put to farther severities. Many of the sects either discontinued their meetings, or held them very secretly with small numbers, and not in hours of publick worship. Yet informers were encouraged, and were every where at work.

Behaviour of the Quakers The behaviour of the Quakers was more particular, and had something in it that looked bold. They met at the same place, & at the same hour as before. And when they were seized, none of them would

Behaviour  
of the  
Quakers

1669.

go out of the way: They went all together to prison: They staid there till they were dismiss'd; for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor would they pay their fines set on them, nor so much as the jayl fees, calling these the wages of unrighteousness. And as soon as they were let out, they went to their meeting houses again: And when they found these were shut up by order, they held their meetings on the streets, before the doors of those houses. They said, they would not disown, or be ashamed of their meeting together to worship God: But in imitation of *Daniel* they would do it the more publickly, because they were forbidden the doing it. Some called this obstinacy, while others called it firmness. But by it they carried their point: For the Government grew weary of dealing with so much perverseness, and so began with letting them alone.

THE King had by this time got all the money that he expected from the House of Commons, and that after great practice on both Lords and Commons. Many bones of contention were thrown in, to create differences between the two Houses, to try if by both Houses insisting on them the money bills might fall. But, to prevent all trouble from the Lords, the King was advised to go, & be present at all their debates. Lord *Lauderdale* valued himself to me on this advice, which he said he gave. At first the King sat decently on the throne, tho' even that was a great restraint on the freedom of debate; which had some effect for a while: Tho' afterwards many of the Lords seemed to speak with the more boldness, because, they said, one heard it to whom they had no other access but in that place; and they

The King went commonly to the House of Lords,



1669. they took the more liberty, because what they had said could not be reported wrong. The King, who was often weary of time, and did not know how to get round the day, liked the going to the House, as a pleasant diversion: So he went constantly. And he quickly left the throne, and stood by the fire; which drew a croud about him, that broke all the decency of that House: For before that time every Lord sat regularly in his place: But the King's coming broke the order of their sitting as became Senators. The King's going thither had a much worse effect: For he became a common solicitor, not only in publick affairs, but even in private matters of justice. He would in a very little time have gone round the House, and spoke to every man that he thought worth speaking to. And he was apt to do that upon the solicitation of any of the Ladies in favour, or of any that had credit with them. He knew well on whom he could prevail: So being once in a matter of justice desired to speak to the Earl of *Essex*, and the Lord *Hollis*, he said, they were stiff and sullen men: But when he was next desired to solicit two others, he undertook to do it; and said, they are men of no conscience, so I will take the government of their conscience into my own hands. Yet when any of the Lords told him plainly, that they could not vote as he desired, he seemed to take it well from them. When the Act against Conventicles was debated in that House, *Wilkins* argued long against it. The King was much for having it pass; not that he intended to execute it, but he was glad to have that body of men at mercy and to force them to concur in the design for a general toleration.

He

He spoke to *Wilkins* not to oppose it. He answered, he thought it an ill thing both in conscience and policy: Therefore, both as he was an *English* man, and a Bishop, he was bound to oppose it. The King then desired him not to come to the House while it depended. He said, by the law and constitution of *England*, and by his Majesty's favour, he had a right to debate and vote: And he was neither afraid nor ashamed to own his opinion in that matter, and to act pursuant to it. So he went on; and the King was not offended with his freedom. But tho' he bore with such a frank refusing to comply with his desire, yet if any had made him such general answers, as led him to believe they intended to be compliant, and had not in all things done as he expected, he called that a juggling with him; and he was apt to speak hardly of them on that account. No sooner was the King at ease, and had his fleet put in good case, and his stores and magazines well furnished, than he immediately fell to negotiating with *France*, both to ruine *Holland*, and to subvert the government of *England*. The *Brook-house* business, as well as the burning his fleet, stuck as deep as any thing could do in his heart. He resolved to revenge the one, and to free himself from the apprehensions of the other's returning upon him: Tho' the House of Commons were so far practised on, that the report of *Brook-house* was let fall; and that matter was no more insisted on: Yet he abhorred the precedent, and the discoveries that had been made upon it.

THE Prince of *Orange* came over to him in the winter 1669. He was then in the twentieth year of his age: So he came over,

1669.

The Prince  
of *Orange*  
came to the  
King.

Ec

both

1669.

both to see how the King intended to pay the great debt that he owed him, which had been contracted by his father on his account, & likewise to try what offices the King would do in order to his advancement to the Stadtholdership. The King treated him civilly: He assured him he would pay the debt: But did not lay down any method of doing it: So these were only good words. He tryed the Prince, as the Prince himself told me, in point of religion: He spoke of all the Protestants as a factious body, broken among themselves ever since they had broken off from the main body; & wished, that he would take more pains, and look into these things better, and not to be led by his *Dutch* blockheads. The Prince told all this to *Zuylesteyn* his natural uncle. They were both amazed at it; and wondered, how the King could trust so great a secret, as his being a Papist, to so young a person. The Prince told me, that he never spoke of this to any other person, till after the King's death: But he carried it always in his own mind, and could not hinder himself from judging of all the King's intentions after that from the discovery he had then made of his own sentiments. Nor did he, upon his not complying with that proposition, expect any real assistance of the King, but general intercessions, which signified nothing: And that was all he obtained.

The affairs  
of Scotland

SO far have I carried on the thread of the affairs of *England*, down from the peace of *Breda* to the year 1670, in which the negotiation with the Court of *France* was set on foot. I am not sure, that every thing is told in just order; because I was all the while very much retired from the world and from company. But I am confident, I have given a true representation of things; since



1669.

I had most of these matters from persons who knew them well, and who were not like to deceive me. But now I return to my own country, where the same spirit appeared in the administration.

THE King was now upon measures of moderation and comprehension: So these were also pursued in *Scotland*. *Leightoun* was the only person among the Bishops who declared for these methods: And he made no step without talking it over to me. A great many Churches were already vacant. The people fell off entirely from all the Episcopal Clergy in the western Counties: And a set of hot, fiery, young teachers went about among them, inflaming them more & more: So it was necessary to find a remedy for this. *Leightoun* proposed, that a treaty should be set on foot in order to the accommodating our differences, and for changing the laws that had carried the Episcopal authority much higher than any of the Bishops themselves put in practice. He saw both Church and State were rent: Religion was like to be lost: Popery or rather barbarity, was like to come in upon us: And therefore he proposed such a scheme, as he thought might have taken in the soberest men of Presbyterian principles; reckoning, that if the schism could be once healed, and order be once restored, it might be easy to bring things into such management that the concessions then to be offered should do no great hurt at present, and should die with that generation. He observed the extraordinary concessions made by the *African* Church to the *Danatists*, who were every whit as wild and extravagant as our people were: Therefore he went indeed very

A treaty for an accommodation with the Presbyterians in *Scotland*.

1669. far in the extenuating the Episcopal authority: But he thought, it would be easy afterwards to recover what seemed necessary to be yielded at present.

HE proposed, that the Church should be governed by the Bishops and their Clergy, mixing together in the Church Judicatories; in which the Bishop should act only as a president, and be determined by the majority of his Presbyters, both in matters of jurisdiction and ordination: And that the Presbyterians should be allowed, when they sat down first in these Judicatories, to declare, that their sitting under a Bishop was submitted to by them only for peace sake, with a reservation of their opinion with relation to any such presidency: And that no negative vote should be claimed by the Bishop: That Bishops should go to the Churches, in which such as were to be ordained were to serve, and hear and discuss any exceptions that were made to them, and ordain them with the concurrence of the Presbytery: That such as were to be ordained should have leave to declare their opinion, if they thought the Bishop was only the head of the Presbyters. And he also proposed, that there should be provincial Synods, to sit in course every third year, or oftner, if the King should summon them; in which complaints of the Bishops should be received; and they should be censured accordingly. The laws that settled Episcopacy, and the authority of a National Synod, were to be altered according to this scheme. To justify, or rather to excuse these concessions, which left little more than the name of a Bishop, he said, as for their protestation, it would be little minded, and soon forgotten: The world would see the union

1669.

nion that would be again settled among us, and the protestation would lie dead in the books, & die with those that made it: As for the negative vote, Bishops generally managed matters so, that they had no occasion for it: But, if it should be found necessary, it might be lodged in the King's name with some secular person, who should interpose as often as the Bishop saw it was expedient to use it: And if the present race could be but laid in their graves in peace, all those heats would abate, if not quite fall off. He also thought, it was a much decenter thing, for Bishops to go upon the place where the Minister was to serve, and to ordain after solemn fasting and prayer, than to huddle it up at their Cathedrals, with no solemnity, and scarce with common decency. It seemed also reasonable, that Bishops should be liable to censure, as well as other people: And that in a fixed Court, which was to consist of Bishops, and Deans, and two chosen from every Presbytery. The liberty offered to such as were to be ordained, to declare their opinion, was the hardest part of the whole. It looked like the perpetuating a factious and irregular humour. But few would make use of it. All the Churches in the gift of the King, or of the Bishops, would go to men of other principles. But tho' some things of an ill digestion were at such a time admitted, yet, if by these means the schism could be once healed, and the Nation again settled in a peaceable state, the advantage of that would balance all that was lost by those abatements that were to be made in the Episcopal authority; which had been raised too high, and to correct that was now to be let fall too low, if it were not for the good that was to be hoped



1669.

for from this Accommodation: For this came to be the word, as Comprehension was in *England*. He proposed farther; that a treaty might be set on foot, for bringing the Presbyterians to accept of these concessions. The Earl of *Kincardin* was against all treating with them: They were a trifling sort of disputatious people: They would fall into much wrangling, and would subdivide among themselves: And the young and ignorant men among them, that were accustomed to popular declamations, would say, here was a bargain made to sell *Christ's Kingdom*, and his prerogative. He therefore proposed, that since we knew both their principles and their tempers, we ought to carry the concessions as far as it was either reasonable or expedient, and pass these into laws: And then they would submit to a settlement that was made, and that could not be helped, more easily than give a consent before hand to any thing that seemed to entrench on that which they called the liberty of the Church. *Leightoun* did fully agree with him in this. But Lord *Lauderdale* would never consent to that. He said, a law that did so entirely change the constitution of the Church, when it came to be pass'd and printed, would be construed in *England* as a pulling down of Episcopacy; unless he could have this to say in excuse for it, that the Presbyterians were willing to come under that model. So he said, since the load of what was to be done in *Scotland* would fall heaviest on him, he would not expose himself so much, as the passing any such act must certainly do, till he knew what effects would follow on it. So we were forced to try how to deal with them in a treaty.

1669.

I was sent to propose this scheme to *Hutcheson*, who was esteemed the learnedest man among them. But I was only to try him, and to talk of it as a notion of my own. He had married my cousin german; and I had been long acquainted with him. He look'd on it as a project that would never take effect: So he would not give his opinion about it. He said, when these concessions were pass'd into laws, he would know what he should think of them: But he was one of many, so he avoided to declare himself. The next thing under consideration was, how to dispose of the many vacancies, and how to put a stop to Conventicles. *Leightoun* proposed, that they should be kept still vacant, while the treaty was on foot; and that the Presbyterians should see how much the Government was in earnest in the design of bringing them to serve in the Church, when so many places were kept open for them.

THE Earl of *Tweeddale* thought the treaty would run into a great length, and to many niceties, and would perhaps come to nothing in conclusion. So he proposed the granting some of the outed Ministers leave to go and serve in those parishes by an Act of the King's indulgence, from whence it came to be called the Indulgence. *Leightoun* was against this. He thought, nothing would bring on the Presbyterians to a treaty, so much as the hopes of being again suffered to return to their benefices: Whereas, if they were once admitted to them, they would reckon they had gained their point, and would grow more backward. I was desired to go into the western parts, and to give a true account of matters, as I found them there. So I went, as in a visit to the Duke of *Hamilton*;

An indulgence proposed.

1669.

whose Duchess was a woman of great piety, and great parts. She had much credit among them; for she pass'd for a zealous Presbyterian, tho she protested to me, she never entred into the points of controversy, and had no settled opinion about forms of Government; only she thought their Ministers were good men, who kept the country in great quiet and order: They were, she said, blameless in their lives, devout in their way, and diligent in their labours. The people were all in a phrenzy, and were in no disposition for any treaty. The furiouslest men among them were busy in Conventicles, inflaming them against all agreements: So she thought, that, if the more moderate Presbyterians were put in vacant Churches, the people would grow tamer, and be taken out of the hands of the mad preachers, that were then most in vogue: This would likewise create a confidence in them: For they were now so possessed with prejudices, as to believe that all that was proposed was only an artifice to make them fall out among themselves, and deceive them at last: This seemed reasonable: And she got many of the more moderate of them to come to me; and they all talked in the same strain.

An attempt  
to murder  
*Sharp.*

A strange accident happened to *Sharp* in July 1668, as he was going into his coach in full daylight, the Bishop of *Orkney* being with him. A man came up to the coach, and discharged a pistol at him with a brace of bullets in it, as the Bishop of *Orkney* was going up into the coach. He intended to shoot through his cloak at *Sharp*, as he was mounting up: But the bullet stuck in the Bishop of *Orkney*'s arm, and shattered it so, that, tho' he lived some years after that, they were forced

ced  
was  
in r  
bod  
off,  
odd  
and  
diat  
that  
tion  
of t  
con  
che  
pon  
are  
life.  
piet  
fatic  
mat  
disco  
ther  
that  
man  
miso  
ked  
out  
me  
to t  
a pa  
to it  
and  
Kin  
meth  
V  
ved



ced to open it every year for an exfoliation. *Sharp* 1669.  
 was so universally hated, that tho' this was done  
 in full day light, and on the high street, yet no  
 body offered to seize the assassin. So he walked  
 off, and went home, and shifted himself of an  
 odd wig, which he was not accustomed to wear,  
 and came out, and walked on the streets imme-  
 diately. But *Sharp* had viewed him so narrowly,  
 that he discovered him afterwards, as shall be men-  
 tioned in its proper place. I lived then much out  
 of the world: Yet I thought it decent to go and  
 congratulate on this occasion. He was much tou-  
 ched with it, and put on a shew of devotion u-  
 pon it. He said with a very serious look, my times  
 are wholly in thy hand, O thou God of my  
 life. This was the single expression favouring of  
 piety, that ever fell from him in all the conver-  
 sation that passed between him and me. Procla-  
 mations were issued out with great rewards for  
 discovering the actor: But nothing followed on  
 them. On this occasion it was thought proper,  
 that he should be called to Court, and have some  
 marks of the King's favour put on him. He pro-  
 mised to make many good motions: And he tal-  
 ked for a while like a changed man: And went  
 out of his way, as he was going to Court, to visit  
 me at my parsonage house, and seemed resolved  
 to turn to other methods. The King, as he had  
 a particular talent that way, when he had a mind  
 to it, treated him with special characters of favour  
 and respect. But he made no proposition to the  
 King: Only in general terms he approved of the  
 methods of gentleness & moderation then in vogue.

WHEN he came back to *Scotland*, he mo-  
 ved in Council that an indulgence might be gran-  
 ted

*Sharp* pro-  
 posed the  
 indulging

1669.  
some Mini-  
sters that  
did not  
conform.

ted to some of the Publick Resolutioners, with some rules and restraints; such as, that they should not speak, or preach, against Episcopacy, and that they should not admit to either of the Sacraments any of the neighbouring parishes without a desire from their own Ministers; and that they should engage themselves to observe these rules. He knew that his proposition, for all the shew of moderation that was in it, could have no effect: For the Resolutioners & the Protestors had laid down their old disputes, and were resolved to come under no discrimination on that account; nor would they engage to observe any limitations that should be laid on them. They said, the Government might lay restraints on them, and punish them, if they broke thro' them: And they would obey them, or not, at their peril. But they laid down this for a maxim, that they had received a compleat Ministry from *Christ*, and that the judicatories of the Church had only power to govern them in the exercise of their function. If the King should lay any limitations on them, they might obey these, as prudence should direct: But they would not bind themselves up by any engagement of their own. *Burnet*, and his Clergy, (for the diocese of *Glasgow* is above the fourth part of all *Scotland*,) came to *Edenburgh* full of high complaints, that the Churches were universally forsaken, and that Conventicles abounded in every corner of the country. A proclamation was upon that issued out, in imitation of the *English* Act, setting a fine of 50 *l.* upon every landlord, on whose grounds any Conventicle was held, which he might recover, as he could, of those who were at any such Conventicle. This was plainly against law; for the Council had no power by their authority to set arbitrary fines. It was

1669.

pretended on the other hand, that the Act of Parliament that had restored Episcopacy had a clause in it, recommending the execution of that Act to the Privy Council by all the best ways they could think of. But the lawyers of the Council-board said, that in matters of property their power was certainly tied up to the direction of the law: And the clause mentioned related only to particular methods, but could not be construed so far, as this proclamation carried the matter. The proclamation went out, but was never executed. It was sent up to *London*, and had a shew of zeal; and so was made use of by the Earl of *Lauderdale* to bear down the clamour, that was raised against him and his party in *Scotland*, as if they designed to pull down Episcopacy. The model of the county militia was now executed: And above 2000 Horse & 16000 foot were armed, and trained, and cast into independent regiments and troops, who were all to be under such orders as the Council issued out. All this was against law: For the King had only a power upon an extraordinary occasion to raise, and march such a body of men, as he should summon together; and that at his own charge: But the converting this into a standing militia, which carried with it a standing charge, was thought a great stretch of prerogative. Yet it was resolved on; tho' great exceptions were made to it by the lawyers, chiefly by Sir *John Nisbit*, the King's advocate, a man of great learning, both in law and in many other things, chiefly in the *Greek* learning: He was a person of great integrity, and always stood firm to the law. The true secret of this design was, that Lord *Lauderdale* was now pressing to get into the management of the affairs of



1669.

of England. He saw what the Court was aiming at; and he had a mind to make himself considerable by this, that he had in his hand a great army, with a magazine of arms, and a stock of money laid up in *Scotland* for any accident that might happen. So all his creatures, and Lady *Dyffert* more than all the rest, had this up in all companies, that none before him ever dreamt how to make *Scotland* considerable to the King: But now it began to make a great figure. An Army, a Magazine, and a Treasure, were words of a high sound; chiefly now that the House of Commons was like to grow so intractable, that the Duke of *Buckingham* despaired of being able to manage them. He moved the dissolving the Parliament, and calling a new one; and thought the Nation would chose men less zealous for the Church; for these were all against him. But the King would not venture on it. He knew the House of Commons was either firm to him by their own principles: Or by his management they could be made so: And therefore he would not run the risk of any new election. He had the Dissenters much in his power, by the severe laws under which they lay at his mercy: But he did not know what influence they might have in elections, and in a new Parliament. These he knew were in their hearts enemies to prerogative; which he believed they would shew, as soon as they got themselves to be delivered from the laws, that then put them in the King's power.

Propositions for  
the union  
of the two  
Kingdoms.

LORD *Tweedale* was then at *London*: And he set on foot a proposition, that came to nothing, but made so much noise, and was of such importance, that it deserves to be enlarged on.

It

1669.

It was for the union of both Kingdoms. The King liked it; because he reckoned, that, at least for his time, he should be sure of all the members that should be sent up from *Scotland*. The Duke of *Buckingham* went in easily to a new thing: And Lord Keeper *Bridgman* was much for it. The Lord *Lauderdale* pressed it vehemently: It made it necessary to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, where he intended to be the King's Commissioner. The Earl of *Tweeddale* was for it on other accounts, both to settle the establishment of the militia, and to get some alterations made in the laws that related to the Church: And he really drove at the union, as a thing which he thought might be brought about. *Scotland*, he said, was even then under great uneasiness, tho' the King knew the state of that Kingdom: But when another King should reign that know not *Joseph*, (so he expressed it,) the Nation would be delivered up to Favourites, and be devoured by them: Rich provinces, like those that belonged to *Spain*, could hold out long under oppression: But a poor country would be soon dispeopled, if much oppressed: And if a King of deep designs against publick liberty should care for the *Scots*, he might easily engage them, since a poor country may be supposed willing to change their seats, and to break in on a richer one: There was indeed no fear of that at present; for the dotage of the Nation on Presbytery, and the firmness with which the Government supported Episcopacy, set them so far from one another, that no engagement of that sort could be attempted: But if a King should take a dextrous method for putting that out of the way, he might carry *Scotland* to any design he thought fit to engage in. Lord

*Tweeddale*

1669. *Tweeddale* blamed *Sir Francis Bacon* much for laying it down as a maxim, that *Scotland* was to be reckoned as the third part of the Island, and to be treated accordingly: Whereas he assured me, *Scotland* for numbers of people was not above a tenth part, and for wealth not above a fortieth part of the Island.

THE discourse of the union was kept up, till it was resolved to summon a new Parliament in *Scotland*. Then Lord *Lauderdale* made the King reflect on the old scheme he had laid before him at the Restoration: And he undertook to manage the Parliament so, as to make it answer that end more effectually than any before him had ever done. This was resolved on in the summer 1669. I being then at *Hamilton*, and having got the best information of the state of the country that I could, wrote a long account of all I had heard to the Lord *Tweeddale*, and concluded it with an advice to put some of the more moderate of the Presbyterians into the vacant Churches. *Sir Robert Murray* told me, the letter was so well liked, that it was read to the King. Such a letter would have signified nothing, if Lord *Tweeddale* had not been fixed in the same notion. He had now a plausible thing to support it. So my principles, and zeal for the Church, and I know not what besides were raised to make my advice signify somewhat. And it was said, I was the man that went most entirely into *Leigh-toun's* maxims. So this indiscreet letter of mine, sent, without communicating it to *Leigh-toun*, gave the deciding stroke. And, as may be easily believed, it drew much hatred on me from all that either knew it, or did suspect it.

The King  
gave orders

THE King wrote a letter to the Privy Council,



cil, ordering them to indulge such of the Presbyterians as were peaceable and loyal, so far as to suffer them to serve in vacant Churches, tho' they did not submit to the present establishment: And he required them to set them such rules as might preserve order and peace, and to look well to the execution of them: And as for such as could not be provided to Churches at that time, he ordered a pension of 20-*l* ster. a year to be paid every one of them, as long as they lived orderly. Nothing followed on the second article of this letter: The Presbyterians look'd on this, as the King's hire to be silent, and not to do their duty: And none of them would accept of it. But, as to the first part of the letter, on the first Council day after it was read, twelve of the Ministers were indulged: They had parishes assigned them: And about thirty more were afterwards indulged in the same manner: And then a stop was put to it for some time. With the warrants that they had for their Churches, there was a paper of rules likewise put in their hands. *Hutcheson* in all their names made a speech to the Council: He began with decent expressions of thanks to the King, and their Lordships: He said, they should at all times give such obedience to laws, and orders, as could stand with a good conscience. And so they were dismissed. As for those of them that were allowed to go to the Churches where they had served before, no difficulty could be made: But those of them that were named to other Churches would not enter on the serving them, till the Church sessions, and the inhabitants of the parish met, and made choice of them for their pastors, and gave them a call (as they termed it) to serve among them. But upon this,

1669.

for the Indulgence.

1669. this, scruples arose among some, who said the people's choice ought to be free: whereas now they were limited to the person named by the Council, which looked like an election upon a *Congé & elire*, with a letter naming the person, with which they often diverted themselves. But scruples are mighty things, when they concur with inclination or interest: And when they are not supported by these, men learn distinctions to get free from them. So it happened in this case: For tho' some few were startled at these things, yet they lay in no man's way; For every man went, and was possessed of the Church marked out for him. And at first the people of the country ran to them with a sort of transport of joy. Yet this was soon cooled. It was hoped, that they would have begun their ministry with a publick testimony against all that had been done in opposition to what they were accustomed to call the work of God. But they were silent at that time, and preached only the doctrines of Christianity. This disgusted all those who loved to hear their Ministers preach to the times, as they call'd it. The stop put to the Indulgence made many conclude, that those, who had obtained the favour, had entred into secret engagements. So they came to call them the King's Curates, as they had called the Clergy in derision the Bishop's Curates. Their caution brought them under a worse character of *dumb dogs*, that could not bark. Those, who by their fierce behaviour had shut themselves out from a share in the Indulgence, began to call this Erastianism, and the Civil Magistrates assuming the power of sacred matters. They said, this was visibly an artifice to lay things asleep with the present generation;

ration  
give  
stru  
was  
those  
with  
nied  
off fr  
Many  
found  
who  
beyon  
that c  
of the  
upon  
severa  
religio  
setting  
becam  
which  
sensibl  
by me  
and to  
men,  
The  
servile  
a desir  
TH  
when  
be plai  
Episco  
such as  
be int  
party,  
King,

ration; and was one of the depths of *Satan*, to give a present quiet, in order to the certain destruction of Presbytery. It was also said, that there was a visible departing of the divine assistance from those preachers, & that they preached no more with the power and authority that had accompanied them at Conventicles. So many began to fall off from them, and to go again to Conventicles. Many of the preachers confessed to me, that they found an ignorance and a deadness among those who had been the hottest upon their meetings, beyond what could have been imagined. They that could have argued about the intrinsic power of the Church, and Episcopacy, and Presbytery, upon which all their sermons had chiefly run for several years, knew very little of the essentials of religion. But the indulged preachers, instead of setting themselves with the zeal and courage that became them against the follies of the people, of which they confessed to my self they were very sensible, took a different method; and studied by mean compliances to gain upon their affections, and to take them out of the hands of some fiery men, that were going up and down among them. The tempers of some brought them under this servile popularity, into which others went out of a desire to live easy.

THE Indulgence was settled in a hurry. But when it came to be descanted on, it appeared to be plainly against law: For by the Act restoring Episcopacy none were capable of benefices, but such as should own the authority of Bishops, and be instituted by them. So now the Episcopal party, that were wont to put all authority in the King, as long as he was for them, began to talk

This complained of as against law.



1669.

of law. They said, the King's power was bounded by the law; and that these proceedings were the trampling of law under foot. For all parties, as they need the shelter of law, or the stretches of the prerogative, are apt by turns to magnify the one, or the other. *Burnet* and his Clergy were out of measure enraged at the Indulgence. They were not only abandoned, but ill used by the people, who were beginning to threaten, or to buy them out of their Churches, that they also might have the benefit of the Indulgence. The Synod of the Clergy was held at *Glasgow* in *October*: And they moved, that an address might be drawn up, representing to the King the miseries they were under, occasioned by the Indulgence: They complained of it as illegal, and as like to be fatal to the Church. This was according to the words in some of their Acts of Parliament, a misrepresenting the King's proceedings, in order to the alienating the hearts of his subjects from him; which was made capital, as may appear by the account given in the former book of the proceedings against the Lord *Balmerinock*. He that drew this address was one *Ross*, afterwards Archbishop, first of *Glasgow*, and then of *St. Andrews*; who was an ignorant man, and violent out of measure. So it was drawn full of acrimony. Yet they resolved to keep it secret, till advice should be taken upon it: and accordingly to present it to the Privy Council, or not. A Copy of this was procured by indirect methods: And it was sent up to Court, after the Earl of *Lauderdale* was come off, and was in his way to hold the Parliament in *Scotland*. Lord *Lauderdale* had left all his concerns at Court with Sir *Robert Murray*: For tho', at his Mistress's

in.

instigation, he had used him very unworthily, yet he had so great an opinion of his vertue and candor, that he left all his affairs to his care. As soon as the King saw the Clergy's address, he said, it was a new western remonstrance: And he ordered, that *Burnet* should not be suffered to come to the Parliament, and that he should be proceeded against as far as the law could carry the matter. It was not easy to stretch this so far, as to make it criminal. But *Burnet* being obnoxious on other accounts, they intended to frighten him to submit, and to resign his Bishoprick.

THE Parliament was opened in November. Lord *Lauderdale's* speech ran upon two heads. The one was, the recommending to their care the preservation of the Church, as established by law: Upon which he took occasion to express great zeal for Episcopacy. The other head related to the union of both Kingdoms. All that was done relating to that was, that an act pass'd for a treaty about it. And in the following summer, in a subsequent session, Commissioners were named, who went up to treat about it. But they made no progress: And the thing fell so soon, that it was very visible it was never intended in good earnest.

A Parliament in Scotland.

THE two first acts that pass'd in Parliament were of more importance, and had a deeper design. The first explained, and asserted the King's Supremacy; but carried it in such general words, that it might have been stretched to every thing. It was declared, that the settling all things relating to the external government of the Church was a right of the Crown: And that all things relating to Ecclesiastical meetings, matters, and

The Supremacy carried very high.

1669. persons, were to be ordered according to such directions as the King should send to his Privy Council: And that these should be published by them, and should have the force of laws. Lord *Lauderdale* very probably knew the secret of the Duke's religion, and had got into his favour. So it was very likely; that he intended to establish himself in it, by putting the Church of *Scotland* wholly in his power. But that was yet a secret to us all in *Scotland*. The method he took to get it pass'd was this: He told all those who loved Presbytery, or that did not much favour the Bishops, that it was necessary to keep them under, by making them depend absolutely on the King: This was indeed a transferring the whole legislature, as to the matters of the Church, from the Parliament, and vesting it singly in the King: Yet, he told them, if this were done, as the circumstances might happen to be favourable, the King might be prevailed on, if a dash of a pen would do it, to change all on the sudden: Whereas that could never be hoped for, if it could not be brought about, but by the pomp and ceremony of a Parliament. He made the Nobility see, they needed fear no more the insolence of Bishops, if they were at mercy, as this would make them. *Sharp* did not like it, but durst not oppose it. He made a long dark speech, copied out of Doctor *Taylor*, distinguishing between the Civil and Ecclesiastical authority; and then voted for it. So did all the Bishops that were present: Some absented themselves. *Leightoun* was against any such Act, and got some words to be altered in it. He thought, it might be stretched to ill ends; and so he was very averse to it. Yet he gave his vote for



1669.

for it, not having sufficiently considered the extent of the words, and the consequences that might follow on such an Act; for which he was very sorry, as long as he lived. But at that time there were no apprehensions in *Scotland* of the danger of Popery. Many of the best of the Episcopal Clergy, *Nairn*, and *Charteris* in particular, were highly offended at the Act. They thought it plainly made the King our Pope. The Presbyterians said, it put him in *Christ's* stead. They said, the King had already too much power in the matters of the Church: And nothing ruined the Clergy more, than their being brought into servile compliances, and a base dependance upon Courts. I had no share in the counsels about this Act. I only thought it was designed by Lord *Tweeddale* to justify the Indulgence, which he protested to me was his chief end in it. And no body could ever tell me how the word *Ecclesiastical matters* was put in the Act. *Leightoun* thought, he was sure it was put in after the draught and form of the Act was agreed on. It was generally charged on Lord *Lauderdale*. And when the Duke's religion came to be known, then all people saw, how much the legal settlement of our religion was put in his power by this means. Yet the preamble of the Act being only concerning the external government of the Church, it was thought, that the word *Ecclesiastical matters* were to be confined to the sense that was limited by the preamble.

THE next Act that pass'd was concerning the Militia: All that had been done in raising it was approved: And it was enacted, that it should still be kept up, and be ready to march into any of the King's dominions, for any cause in which his

An Act for  
the County Militia

1669. Majesty's authority, power, or greatness should be concerned; and that the orders should be transmitted to them from the Council board, without any mention of orders from the King. Upon this great reflexions were made. Some said, that by this the Army was taken out of the King's power and command, and put under the power of the Council: So that if the greater part of the Council should again rebel, as they did in the year 1638, the Army was by the words of this Act bound to follow their orders. But, when jealousies broke out in *England* of the ill designs that lay hid under this matter, it was thought that the intent of this clause was, that, if the King should call in the *Scotish* Army, it should not be necessary that he himself should send any orders for it; but that, upon a secret intimation, the Council might do it without order, and then, if the design should miscarry, it should not lie on the King, but only on the Council, whom in that case the King might disown; & so none about him should be blameable for it. The Earl of *Lauderdale* valued himself upon these Acts, as if he had conquered Kingdoms by them. He wrote a letter to the King upon it, in which he said, all *Scotland* was now in his power: The Church of *Scotland* was now more subject to him than the Church of *England* was: This Militia was now an Army ready upon call: And that every man in *Scotland* was ready to march whensoever he should order it, with several very ill insinuations in it. But so dangerous a thing it is to write such letters to Princes: This letter fell into Duke *Hamilton's* hands some years after; and I had it in my hands for some days. It was intended to found an impeachment on it. But that happened at the time when the business

1669.

of the exclusion of the Duke from the succession of the Crown was so hotly pursued, that this, which at another time would have made great noise, was not so much considered as the importance of it might seem to deserve. The way how it came into such hands was this. The King, after he had read the letter, gave it to Sir *Robert Murray*: And when he died it was found among his papers. He had been much trusted in the King's laboratory, and had several of his chymical processes in his hands. So the King after his death did order one to look over all his papers for chymical matters: But all the papers of State were let alone. So this, with many other papers, fell into the hands of his executors. And thus the letter came into Duke *Hamilton's* hands, who would have made use of it, if greater matters had not been then in agitation. This is not the single instance, that I have known, of papers of great consequence falling into the hands of the executors of great Ministers, that might have been turned to very bad uses, if they had fallen into ill hands. It seems of great concern, that when a Minister, or an Ambassadour, dies, or is recalled, or is disgraced, all papers relating to the secrets of his employment should be of right in the power of the Government. But I of all men should complain the least of this, since by this remissness many papers of a high nature have fallen in my way.

BY the Act of Supremacy the King was now master, and could turn out Bishops at pleasure. This had its first effect on *Burnet*; who was offered a pension, if he would submit and resign, and was threatened to be treated more severely, if he stood out. He complied, & retired to a private

*Burnet*  
turned  
out of the  
see of  
*Glasgow*.



1669.

state of life, and bore his disgrace better than he had done his honours. He lived four years in the shade, and was generally much pitied. He was of himself good natured, and sincere; but was much in the power of others. He meddled too much in that which did not belong to him; and he did not understand; for he was not cut out for a Court, or for the Ministry: And he was too remiss in that which was properly his business, and which he understood to a good degree; for he took no manner of care of the spiritual part of his function.

The state I  
found  
things in at  
Glasgow.

AT this time the University of *Glasgow*, to whom the choice of the Professor of divinity does belong, chose me, tho' unknown to them all, to be Professor there. There was no sort of artifice or management to bring this about: It came of themselves, and they did it without any recommendation of any person whatsoever. So I was advised by all my friends to change my post, and go thither. This engaged me both into much study, and in a great deal of business. The Clergy came all to me, thinking I had some credit with those that governed, and laid their grievances and complaints before me. They were very ill used, and were so entirely forsaken by their people, that in most places they shut up their Churches: They were also threatened and affronted on all occasions. On the other hand the Gentlemen of the country came much to me, and told me such strange things of the vices of some, the follies of others, and the indiscretions of them all, that, tho' it was not reasonable to believe all that they said, yet it was impossible not to believe a great deal of it. And so I soon saw, what a hard pro-

1669

province I was like to have of it. Accounts of the state of those parts were expected from me, and were like to be believed. And it was not easy to know, what ought to be believed, nor how matters were to be represented: For I found calumny was so equally practised on both sides, that I came to mistrust every thing that I heard. One thing was visible, that Conventicles abounded, and strange doctrine was vented in them. The King's Supremacy was now the chief subject of declamation: It was said, Bishops were indeed enemies to the liberties of the Church, but the King's little finger would be heavier than their loins had been. After I had been for some months among them, and had heard so much, that I believed very little, I wrote to Lord Tweeddale, that disorders did certainly increase; but, as for any particulars, I did not know what to believe, much less could I suggest what remedies seemed proper: I therefore proposed, that a Committee of Council might be sent round the country to examine matters, and to give such orders as were at present necessary for the publick quiet; and that they might prepare a report against the next session of Parliament, that then proper remedies might be found out.

DUKE Hamilton, Lord Kincardin, Primrose, and Drummond, were sent to these parts. They met first at *Hamilton*, next at *Glasgow*: Then they went to other parts; and came back, and ended their circuit at *Glasgow*. They punished some disorders, and threatened both the indulged Ministers, and the countries, with greater severities, if they should still grow more and more insolent upon the favour that had been shewed them.

A Committee of Council sent round the West.

1659. J

them. I was blamed by the Presbyterians for all they did, and by the Episcopal party for all they did not, since these thought they did too little, as the others thought they did too much. They consulted much with me; and suffered me to intercede so effectually for those whom they had put in prison, that they were all set at liberty. The Episcopal party thought I intended to make my self popular at their cost: So they began that strain of fury and calumny that has pursued me ever since from that sort of people, as a secret enemy to their interest, and an underminer of it. But I was, and still am, an enemy to all force and violence in matters of conscience: And there is no principle that is more hated by bad, ill natured Clergymen, than that.

*Leightoun  
made Arch-  
bishop of  
Glasgow.*

THE Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Tweeddale*, pressed *Leightoun* much to accept of the See of *Glasgow*. He declined it with so much aversion, that we were all uneasy at it. Nothing moved him to hearken to it, but the hopes of bringing about the accommodation that was proposed; in which he had all assistance promised him from the Government. The King ordered him to be sent for to Court. He sent for me on his way; where he stopt a day, to know from me what prospect there was of doing any good. I could not much encourage him: Yet I gave him all the hopes that I could raise my self to: And I was then inclined to think, that the accommodation was not impracticable. Upon his coming to *London*, he found Lord *Lauderdale's* temper was much inflamed: He was become fierce and intractable. But Lord *Tweeddale* made every thing aseasy to him as was possible. They had turned out an Arch-  
bishop



bishop: So it concerned them to put an eminent man in his room, who should order matters with such moderation, that the Government should not be under perpetual disturbance by reason of complaints from those parts.

1669.

BUT now the Court was entring into new designs, into which Lord *Lauderdale* was thrusting himself, with an obsequious, or rather an officious zeal. I will dwell no longer at present on that, than just to name the *Duchess of Orleans's* coming to *Dover*, of which a more particular account shall be given, after that I have laid together all that relates to *Scotland* in the year 1670, and the whole business of the Accommodation. *Leightoun* proposed to the King his scheme of the Accommodation, and the great advantages that his Majesty's affairs would have, if that country could be brought into temper. The King was at this time gone off from the design of a comprehension in *England*. Toleration was now thought the best way. Yet the Earl of *Lauderdale* possessed him with the necessity of doing somewhat to soften the *Scots*, in order to the great design he was then engaging in. Upon that the King, who seldom gave himself the trouble to think twice of any one thing, gave way to it. *Leightoun's* paper was in some places corrected by *Sir Robert Murray*; and was turned into instructions, by which Lord *Lauderdale* was authorized to pass the concessions, that were to be offered, into laws. This he would never own to me, tho' *Leightoun* shewed me the copy of them. But it appeared probable by his conduct afterwards, that he had secret directions to spoil the matter, and

1670.

Instructions  
for an accommodation.

1670. and that he intended to deceive us all. Lord *Tweeddale* was more to be depended on. But he began to loose ground with *Lady Dysert*: And so his interest did not continue strong enough to carry on such a matter.

*LEIGHTOUN* undertook the administration of the See of *Glasgow*: And it was a year after this before he was prevailed on to be translated thither. He came upon this to *Glasgow*, and held a Synod of his Clergy; in which nothing was to be heard, but complaints of desertion and ill usage from them all. *Leightoun*, in a sermon that he preached to them, and in several discourses, both in publick and private, exhorted them to look up more to God, to consider themselves as the ministers of the Cross of *Christ*, to bear the contempt and ill usage they met with as a Cross laid on them for the exercise of their faith and patience, to lay aside all the appetites of revenge; to humble themselves before God, to have many days for secret fasting and prayers, and to meet often together that they might quicken and assist one another in those holy exercises: And then they might expect blessings from Heaven upon their labours. This was a new strain to the Clergy. They had nothing to say against it: But it was a comfortless doctrine to them: And they had not been accustomed to it. No speedy ways were proposed for forcing the people to come to Church, nor for sending soldiers among them, or raising the fines to which they were liable: So they went home, as little edified with their new Bishop, as he was with them. When this was over, he went round some parts of the country to the most eminent of the indulged Ministers, and carried me with

*Leightoun's*  
advices to  
his Clergy.

with him. His business was, to persuade them to hearken to propositions of peace. He told them, some of them would be quickly sent for to *Edenburgh*, where terms would be offered them in order to the making up our differences: All was sincerely meant: They would meet with no artifices, nor hardships: And if they received those offers heartily, they would be turned into laws: And all the vacancies then in the Church would be filled by their brethren. They received this with so much indifference, or rather neglect, that it would have cooled any zeal, that was less warm, and less active, than that good man's was. They were scarce civil, and did not so much as thank him for his tenderness and care: The more artful among them, such as *Hutcherson*, said, it was a thing of general concern, and they were but single men. Others were more metaphysical, and entertained us with some poor arguings and distinctions. *Leightoun* began to lose heart. Yet he resolved to set the negotiation on foot, and carry it as far as he could.

WHEN Lord *Lauderdale* came down to hold a session of Parliament, letters were writ to six of the Presbyterian preachers, ordering them to come to town. There was a long conference between *Leightoun* and them, before the Earls of *Lauderdale*, *Roths*, *Tweeddale*, and *Kincardin*. *Sharp* would not be present at it: But he ordered *Patterson*, afterwards Archbishop of *Glasgow* to hear all, and to bring him an account of what passed. *Leightoun* laid before them the mischief of our divisions, and of the schism that they had occasioned: Many souls were lost, and many more were in danger by those means: So that every one ought

A conference between *Leightoun* and some Presbyterians.



1670.

ought to do all he could to heal this wide breach, that had already let in so many evils among us, which were like to make way to many more: For his own part, he was persuaded that Episcopacy, as an order distinct from Presbyters, had continued in the Church ever since the days of the Apostles; that the world had every where received the Christian religion from Bishops, and that a parity among Clergymen was never thought of in the Church before the middle of the last century, and was then set up rather by accident than of design: Yet, how much soever he was persuaded of this, since they were of another mind, he was now to offer a temper to them, by which both sides might still preserve their opinions, and yet unite in carrying on the ends of the Gospel and their Ministry: They had Moderators amongst them, which was no divine institution; but only a matter of order: The King therefore might name these: And the making them constant could be no such encroachment on their function, as that the peace of the Church must be broke on such an account: Nor could they say, that the blessing of the men named to this function by an imposition of hands did degrade them from their former office, to say no more of it: So they were still at least Ministers: It is true, others thought they had a new and special authority, more than a bare presidency: That did not concern them, who were not required to concur with them in any thing, but in submitting to this presidency: And as to that, they should be allowed to declare their own opinion against it, in as full, and as publick a manner as they pleased. He laid it to their consciences, to consider of the whole matter,

ter, as in the presence of God, without any regard to party, or popularity. He spoke in all near half an hour, with a gravity and force that made a very great impression on those who heard it. *Hutcheson* answered, and said, their opinion for a parity among the Clergy was well known: The presidency now spoke of had made way to a lordly dominion in the Church: And therefore how inconsiderable soever the thing might seem to be, yet the effects of it both had been, and would be very considerable: He therefore desired, some time might be given them to consider well of the propositions now made, and to consult with their brethren about them: And, since this might seem an assembling together against law, he desired, they might have the King's Commissioner's leave for it. This was immediately granted. We had a second conference, in which matters were more fully opened, and pressed home, on the grounds formerly mentioned. Lord *Lauderdale* made us all dine together, and came to us after dinner: But could scarce restrain himself from flying out; for their behaviour seemed both rude and crafty. But *Leighton* had prepared him for it, and pressed him not to give them a handle to excuse their flying off, by any roughness in his deportment towards them. The propositions offered them were now generally known. *Sharp* cried out, that Episcopacy was to be undermined, since the negative vote was to be let go. The inferiour Clergy thought, that if it took effect, and the Presbyterians were to be generally brought into Churches, they would be neglected, and that their people would forsake them. So they hated the whole

1679.

1670. whole thing. The bigotted Presbyterians thought; it was a snare, and the doing that, which had a fair appearance at present, and was meant only to lay that generation in their graves in peace; by which means Episcopacy, that was then shaking over all the Nation, would come to have another root, and grow again out of that. But the far greater part of the Nation approved of this design: And they reckoned, either we should gain our point, and then all would be at quiet, or, if such offers were rejected by the Presbyterians, it would discover their temper; and alienate all indifferent men from them; and the Nation would be convinced, how unreasonable and stubborn they were, and how unworthy they were of any farther favour. All that was done in this session of Parliament was, the raising a tax, and the naming Commissioners for the union with *England*; besides two severe Acts pass'd against Conventicles.

New severities  
against  
Conventi-  
cles.

THERE had been a great one held in *Fife*, near *Dunfermling*, where none had ever been held before. Some Gentlemen of estates were among them: And the novelty of the thing drew a great croud together, for intimation had been given of it some days before. Many of those came in their ordinary arms. That gave a handle to call them the *Rendezvous* of rebellion. Some of them were taken, and brought to *Edenburgh* and pressed to name as many as they knew of their fellow Conventiclers: But they refused to do it. This was sent up to Court, and represented as the fore runner of a rebellion. Upon which Lord *Lauderdale*, hearing what use his enemies made of it, was transported almost to fits of rage. Severe Acts passed upon



1670.

upon it, by which their fines were raised higher, and they were made liable to arbitrary severities. The Earl of *Lauderdale* with his own hand put in a word in the Act, that covered the Papists, the fines being laid on such of the reformed religion as went not to Church. He pretended by this to merit with the Popish party; the Duke in particular, whose religion was yet a secret to us in *Scotland*, tho' it was none at Court. He said to my self, he had put in these words on design to let the party know, they were to be worse used than the Papists themselves. All Field Conventicles were declared treasonable: And in the preacher they were made capital. The Landlords, on whose grounds they were held, were to be severely fined: And all who were at them were to be punished arbitrarily, if they did not discover all that were present, whom they knew. House Conventicles, crouded without the doors, or at the windows, were to be reckoned, and punished, as Field Conventicles. Sir *Robert Murray* told me, that the King was not well pleased with this act, as being extravagantly severe; chiefly in that of the preachers being to be punished by death. He said; bloody laws did no good; and that he would never have passed it, if he had known it before hand. The half of the Parliament abhorred this act: yet so abject were they in their submissions to Lord *Lauderdale*, that the young Earl of *Cassilis* was the single person that voted in the negative. This pass'd in Parliament so suddenly, that *Leightoun* knew nothing of it, till it was too late. He expostulated with Lord *Tweeddale* severely about it: He said, the whole complex of it was so contrary to the common rules of humanity,

Of the  
reformed  
religion.

G g

not

1670.

not to say Christianity, that he was ashamed to mix in counsels with those who could frame and pass such Acts: And he thought it somewhat strange, that neither he, nor I, had been advised with in it. The Earl of *Tweeddale* said, the late Field Conventicle being a new thing, it had forced them to severities, that at another time could not be well excused: And he assured us, there was no design to put it in execution.

*LEIGHTOUN* sent to the western Counties six Episcopal Divines, all except my self brought from other parts: *Nairn* and *Charteris* were two of them: The three others *Aird*, *Cook*, and *Pater-son*, were the best we could persuade to go round the country to preach in vacant Churches, and to argue upon the grounds of the accommodation with such as should come to them. The Episcopal Clergy, who were yet in the country, could not argue much for any thing; and would not at all argue in favour of a proposition that they hated. The people of the country came generally to hear us, tho' not in great crouds. We were indeed amazed to see a poor commonalty so capable to argue upon points of government, and on the bounds to be set to the power of Princes in matters of religion: Upon all these topicks they had texts of scripture at hand; and were ready with their answers to any thing that was said to them. This measure of knowledge was spread even among the meanest of them, their cottagers, and their servants. They were indeed vain of their knowledge, much conceited of themselves, and were full of a most entangled scrupulosity; so that they found, or made difficulties in every thing that could be laid before them. We staid about three months

in

in the country : And in that time there was a stand in the frequency of Conventicles. \* But, as soon as we were gone, a set of those hot preachers went round all the places in which we had been, to defeat all the good we could hope to do. They told them, the Devil was never so formidable, as when he was transformed into an Angel of light. 1670.

THE outed Ministers had many meetings in several parts of the Kingdom They found themselves under great difficulties. The people had got it among them, that all that was now driven at, was only to extinguish Presbytery, by some seeming concessions with the present generation ; and that if the Ministers went into it, they gave up their cause, that so they themselves might be provided for during their lives, and die at more ease. So they, who were strangely subdued by their desire of popularity, resolved to reject the propositions, tho' they could not well tell on what grounds they should justify it. A report was also spread among them, which they believed, and had its full effect upon them : It was said, that the King was alienated from the Church of *England*, and weary of supporting Episcopacy in *Scotland* ; and so was resolved not to clog his Government any longer with it ; and that the concessions now made did not arise from any tenderness we had for them, but from an artifice to preserve Episcopacy : So they were made believe, that their agreeing to them was really a strengthening of that Government, which was otherwise ready to fall with its own weight. And because a passage of Scripture, according to its general sound, was apt to work much on them, that of *touch*

The Presbyterians resolved to reject the offers made them.



1679.

*not, taste not, handle not*, was often repeated among them. It was generally agreed on to reject the offers made them. The next debate among them was, about the reasons they were to give for rejecting them; or whether they would comply with another proposition, which *Leightoun* had made them, that, if they did not like the propositions he had made, they would see, if they could be more happy than he was, and offer at other propositions. In their meetings they named two to maintain the debate, *pro* and *con*. They disputed about the protestation that they were allowed to make: And *Protestatio contraria facto* was a maxim that was in great vogue among them. They argued upon the obligation by the Covenant to maintain their Church, as then established, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, and so every thing that was contrary to that, was represented as a breach of covenant: And none durst object to that. But that they might make a proposition, which they were sure would not be hearkened to, they proposed, that among the concessions to be insisted on, one might be a liberty to ordain without the Bishops. When we heard what their reasonings were, papers were writ and sent among them, in answer to them. But it is a vain thing to argue, when a resolution is taken up, not founded on argument; and arguments are only sought for, to justify that which is already resolved on. We pressed them with this, that, notwithstanding their Covenant, they themselves had afterwards made many alterations, much more important than this of submitting to a constant Moderator, named by the King: *Cromwell* took from them the power of meeting  
in

1670.

in General Assemblies: Yet they went on doing the other duties of their function; tho' this, which they esteemed the greatest of all their rights, was denied them. When an order came out to sequester the half of the benefices of such as should still pray for the King, they upon that submitted, tho' before they had asserted it as a duty; to which they were bound by their Covenant: They had discontinued their ministry, in obedience to laws and proclamations now for nine years: And those, who had accepted the Indulgence, had come in by the King's authority, and had only a parochial government, but did not meet in Presbyteries. From all which we inferred, that, when they had a mind to lay down any thing that they thought a duty, or to submit to any thing that they thought an invasion of their rights, they could find a distinction for it: And it was not easy to shew; why they were not as compliant in this particular. But all was lost labour: Hot men among them were positive: And all of them were full of contention.

THE Duchess of *Hamilton* sent for some of them, *Hutcheson* in particular. She said, she did not pretend to understand nice distinctions; and the terms of dispute: Here, was plain sense: The country might be again at quiet, and the rest of those that were outed admitted to Churches, on terms, that seemed to all reasonable men very easy: Their rejecting this would give a very ill character of them, and would have very bad effects, of which they might see cause to repent, when it would be too late. She told me, all that she could draw from him, that she understood, was, that he saw the generality of their party was resolved against

1670.

all treaties, or any agreement; and that, if a small number should break off from them, it would not heal the old breaches, but would create new ones. In conclusion, nothing was like to follow on this whole negotiation. We, who were engaged in it, had lost all our own side by offering at it: And the Presbyterians would not make one step towards us.

Some  
conferen-  
ces upon  
that  
subject.

LEIGHTOUN desired another meeting with them at *Passey*, to which he carried me and one or two more. They were about thirty. We had two long conferences with them. *Leightoun* laid out before them the obligations that lay on them to seek for peace at all times, but more especially when we already saw the dismal effects of our contentions: There could be no agreement, unless on both sides there was a disposition to make some abatements, and some steps towards one another: It appeared, that we were willing to make even unreasonable ones on our side: And would they abate nothing on theirs? Was their opinion so mathematically certain, that they could not dispense with any part of it, for the peace of the Church, and for the saving of souls? Many poor things were said on their side, which would have made a less mild man, than he was, lose all patience. But he bore with all: And urged this question on them, Would they have held communion with the Church of God at the time of the council of *Nice*, or not? If they should say, not, he would be less desirous of entering into communion with them; since he must say of the Church at that time, *let my soul be with theirs*: If they said, they would; then he was sure, they would not reject the offers now made them, which



1670.

which brought Episcopacy much lower than it was at that time. One of the most learned among them had prepared a speech full of quotations, to prove the difference between the primitive Episcopacy and ours at present. I was then full of those matters: So I answered all his speech, and every one of his quotations, and turned the whole upon him, with advantages that were too evident to be so much as denied by their own party: And, it seemed, the person himself thought so; for he did not offer at one word of reply. In conclusion, the Presbyterians desired, that the propositions might be given them in writing: For hitherto all had pass'd only verbally; and words, they said, might be misunderstood, misrepeated, and denied. *Leighoun* had no mind to do it: Yet, since it was plausible, to say they had nothing but words to shew to their brethren, he wrote them down, and gave me the original, which I still have in my hands; but suffered them to take as many copies of it as they pleased. At parting he desired them to come to a final resolution, as soon as they could; for he believed, they would be called for by the next *January* to give their answers. And by the end of that month they were ordered to come to *Edenburgh*. I went thither at the same time upon *Leighoun's* desire.

WE met at the Earl of *Rathes's* house, where all this treaty came to a short conclusion. *Hutcheson* in all their names said, they had considered the propositions made to them, but were not satisfied in their consciences to accept of them. *Leighoun* desired to know upon what grounds they stood out. *Hutcheson* said, that, it was not safe to argue against law. *Leighoun* said, that,

At last they refused to accept of the concessions.

1670.

since the Government had set on a treaty with them in order to the altering the laws, they were certainly left to a full freedom of arguing against them: These offers were no laws: So the arguing about them could not be called an arguing against law: He offered them a publick conference upon them, in the hearing of all that had a mind to be rightly informed: He said, the people were drawn into those matters so far, as to make a schism upon them: He thought, it was therefore very reasonable, that they should likewise hear the grounds examined, upon which both sides went. *Hutcheson* refused this: He said, he was but one man; and that what he said was in the name of his brethren, who had given him no farther authority. *Leightoun* then asked, if they had nothing on their side to propose towards the healing of our breaches. *Hutcheson* answered, their principles were well enough known, but he had nothing to propose. Upon this *Leightoun*, in a long discourse, told what was the design he had been driving at in all this negotiation: It was to procure peace, and to promote religion: He had offered several things, which he was persuaded were great diminutions of the just rights of Episcopacy: Yet since all Church-power was for edification, and not for destruction, he had thought, that in our present circumstances it might have conduced as much to the interest of religion, that Episcopacy should divest it self of a great part of the authority that belonged to it, as the Bishop's using it in former ages had been an advantage to religion: His offers did not flow from any mistrust of the cause: He was persuaded, Episcopacy was handed down thro' all the ages of the Church from the Apostles days: Perhaps he had wronged the order  
by

by the concessions he had made: Yet he was confident God would forgive it, as he hoped his brethren would excuse it. Now they thought fit to reject these concessions, without either offering any reason for doing it, or any expedient on their side: Therefore the continuance of our divisions must lie at their door, both before God and man. If ill effects followed upon this, he was free of all blame, and had done his part. Thus was this treaty broke off, to the amazement of all sober and dispassionate people, and to the great joy of *Sharp*, and the rest of the Bishops; who now for a while seemed even pleased with us, because we had all along asserted Episcopacy, and had pleaded for it in a high and positive strain.

I hope this will be thought an useful part of the history of that time: None knew the steps made in it better than my self. The fierce Episcopal men will see, how much they were to blame for accusing that Apostolical man *Leighton*, as they did, on this occasion: as if he had designed in this whole matter to betray his own order, and to set up Presbytery. The Presbyterians may also see, how much their behaviour disgusted all wise, moderate and good men, when they rejected propositions, that came so home even to the maxims they had set up, that nothing but the fear of offending, that is of losing the credit they had with their party, could be so much as pretended for their refusing to agree to them. Our part in the whole negotiation was sincere and open. We were acted with no other principle, and had no other design, but to allay a violent agitation of men's spirits, that was throwing us into great distractions; and to heal a breach, that was like to let in an inundation of

1670.

Censures  
pass'd  
upon this  
whole  
matter.



1670.

miserics upon us, as has appeared but too evidently ever since. The high party, keeping still their old bias to persecution, and recovering afterwards their credit with the Government, carried violent proceedings so far, that, after they had thrown the Nation into great convulsions, they drew upon themselves such a degree of fury from enraged multitudes, whom they had oppressed long and heavily, that, in conclusion, the Episcopal order was put down, as shall be told in its proper place. The roughness of our own side, and the perverseness of the Presbyterians, did so much alienate me from both, that I resolved to withdraw my self from any farther meddling, and to give my self wholly to study. I was then, and for three years after, that, offered to be made a Bishop: But I refused it. I saw the counsels were altering above: So I resolved to look on, and see whither things would turn.

*End of the first volume, and of the  
year 1670.*



ir  
ds  
nt  
ie  
n  
d  
d  
er  
e.  
r-  
te  
y  
y  
ee  
ut  
e:  
gs

oe

